By The Same Author

Studies In Indian Literary History

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On the 15th of August 1951 the Committee issued an appeal signed by over 70 well-known personalities in different walks of life from all over India inviting contributions to the proposed fund. The Committee is grateful to all the contributors to this fund for their spontaneous and generous response. A list of these contributors is appended to this Foreword.

Thanks to the co-operation of these friends and the press, the Committee has been able at long last to publish the third volume of Dr. Gode's papers, which contains 28 papers and extends over 260 pages.

We are happy to record that Ācārya Vishva Bandhu Shastri, Director, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Rasearch Institute, Hoshiarpur, has offered to publish the fourth volume of Dr. Gode's papers dealing with Indian cultural history. The printing of this volume has just been started. We feel confident that the printing of the fifth volume also will be started before the fourth volume is out.

On this occasion of the publication of the third volume of his papers we wish Dr. Gode long life full of health and activity. We are glad to note that Dr. Gode is still pursuing all his research activities with the same energy and vigour as hitherto

Ashadhi Ekadashi
18th July 1956
Poona 4

J. R. Gharpure
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PREFACE

I have great pleasure in presenting to the world of scholars this third volume of my **Studies in Indian Literary History**, which is a continuation of Volumes I and II of these Studies published by my esteemed friend Ācārya Muni Jinavijayaji in the **Singhi Jain Series** of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay. As these two volumes were brought out solely through the benefaction of Ācārya Jinavijayaji the present volume is being published through the goodwill and active efforts of my affectionate friends Dr A D. Pusalker and Prof. N. A. Gore in organising the Committee for the publication of my Collected Works and collecting the necessary funds for it. The Foreword of the Committee to the present volume with the list of my friends, who have generously contributed towards the cost of its publication, gives me added confidence and encouragement in my life's work viz. my Studies in Indian Literary and Cultural history on which, I have spent the last forty years of my life God willing, I may still do some more useful work in this field. I cannot adequately thank all these friends who have made the publication of this volume possible. Special thanks are due to all the members of the Committee and in particular to its Chairman Principal J R Gharpure, whose blessings I have enjoyed during the last quarter of a century, to Dr. R. N. Dandekar (Treasurer) for his advice and co-operation in the publication of the three volumes of my studies and in various other matters pertaining to them and to Dr Pusalker and Prof Gore, who prepared at great inconvenience to themselves the Indices to my volumes and who spared no pains in collecting the Publication Fund for my works, not to say their active help in the editing of the third volume. But for the efforts of Dr. Pusalker and Prof Gore this third volume of my studies would not have seen the light of the day.

Judging by the numerous appreciative reviews of Vols. I and II of my Studies published in India and outside so far I have reason to believe that my continuous research work during the last four decades of my life has been found useful by all experts and laymen interested in the field of my studies This belief of mine is further confirmed by the translations of some of my articles in Hindi and other languages of India that have appeared during the last fifteen years. I derived much inspiration for my research work from two gurus viz the late Dr. P D. Gune and Dr. R. D. Ranade, both of whom were among the prominent founders of the B. O. R.

Institute. It was on the advice of both these gurus that I joined the Institute on 26-4-1919 I owe to them a deep debt of gratitude. In partial redemption of this debt I have dedicated Vol I of my Studies to Dr Gune and his esteemed friend Muni Shri Jinavijayaji. I have also succeeded with the help of Dr Gune's friends, pupils, admirers and children in collecting Dr. P. D. Gune Memorial Fund, which was handed over to the University of Poona in 1955 by myself and my friend Prof. C. R. Devadhar on behalf of the Dr. P. D. Gune Memorial Committee. The Poona University has kindly accepted the amount of this fund and a "Dr P D Gune Memorial Lectureship" has been founded by them. Though my debt to Dr. Ranade is irredeemable it is my pleasant duty to dedicate the present volume to him as a token of my reverence and gratitude to him on the occasion of the completion of his 70th year on 3rd July 1956. I pray God to give him long life and good health to inspire his pupils, friends and devotees in walks, both spiritual and temporal.

In the correction of proofs of the present volume I have received considerable help from my friends Shri S. N. Savadi and Shri G N. Shrigondekar of the B. O R. Institute. I convey to them my cordial thanks for this unstinted help and co-operation. Finally I have to convey my hearty thanks to Shri M. S. Sathe, the Manager of the Prājña Press, Wai, and all workers of this Press for the neat and careful printing of the volume

As this volume is being published the printing of the fourth volume of my Studies has been started by the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. This volume will contain some of my articles on Indian Cultural History I record here my best thanks to my affectionate friend Prof. Vishva Bandhu Shastri, the Director of this Institute for his friendly act (bandhu-krtya) in persuading his committee to undertake this volume for publication in their series.

Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute,
Poona 4,
3o th July 1956

P. K Gode

– Contents –

To

My Guru

Professor

Dr. Ramachandra Dattatraya Ranade, M. A., D Litt.

1. The Gandhasāra of Gaṅgādhara — An Unknown Treatise on Gandhaśāstra and its Critical Analysis *

In his delightful and scholarly account of Indian Toilet[1] Dr. G. P. Majumdar has collected a good deal of historical information about scents and perfumes as manufactured and used by our forefathers. The sources ransacked by Dr. Majumdar for this information are (1) the Vedic texts, (2) Pali texts, (3) *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, (4) *Śukranīti*, (5) *Arthaśāstra*, (6) *Agnipurāṇa*, (7) *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (section on *Gandhayukti*), (8) *Mahābhārata* (*Śāntiparvan*), (9) *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, (10) *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, (11) *Lalitavistara*, (12) *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, (13) *Yuktikalpataru* of King Bhoja, (14) *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, (15) *Amarakośa*, (16) *Materia Medica of the Hindus*, by U. C. Datta, etc. On the strength of data gathered from these sources Dr. Majumdar concludes as follows :—

" Thus it may be seen that most of the ingredients of Indian toilet, flowers, garlands, perfumes, scents, cosmetics, paints, ointments and pastes were derived from plants. For the patterns of ornaments too men were equally indebted to the plant world — the trees, leaves, flowers, fruits and creepers."

In view of the evidence about the wide-spread use of scents and cosmetics in Ancient India we are tempted to inquire if there existed any special treatises on the manufacture of these cosmetics and scents, containing recipes about their manufacture in detail. We have reason to believe that some such treatises did exist but unfortunately no manuscripts of these treatises have yet been discovered or recorded in our MSS catalogues of different libraries. For a long time I was on a look-out for such MSS and fortunately two such MSS of two different works on *Gandhaśāstra* have been discovered by me. I propose, therefore, to give in this paper a critical notice of one of these MSS for the benefit of scholars interested in the history of Indian Cosmetics

Some years ago the late Pandit Rangacharya Raddi presented a collection of MSS to the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona. This collection called the Raddi Collection contains a bundle consisting of two works on

* Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XIV, Part II, pp 44-50.

1 Vide Ch IV (pp 83-106) of *Some Aspects of Indian Civilization*, by G. P Majumdar, Calcutta, 1938.

Gandhaśāstra, viz., (1) the *Gandhasāra*, by Gaṅgādhara, and (2) *Gandhavāda.* Both these works are unknown to Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or to the Editors of the *Revised Cata. Catalogorum* that is being prepared by the University of Madras [1]

The manuscript is written on country paper and appears to be about 200 years old. It consists of 49 folios (11 inches × 4½ inches) with 11 lines on each page. The folios comprising the two works are as follows —

Folios 1 to 27a — गन्धसार of गङ्गाधर.

Folios 27b to 49 — गन्धवाद with Marathi commentary.

The *Gandhasāra* [2] begins as follows on *Folio 1* —

" श्रीगणेशायनम ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नम ॥
विरिंचिविष्णुप्रमुखामराप्सरो-
गधर्वयक्षोरगराजसेवित ।
शैलात्मजाबाहुलताप्रसाधित
स व्योमकेशो मुदमादधातु न ॥१॥
परिसप्रसर्पन्मधुगधलुब्ध-
लोलालिमालाकुलकर्णतालं ।
भजे गजास्य गिरिजातनूज
विघ्नछिद निर्जरवृंदसेव्य ॥२॥
विरिंचिवक्त्रांबुजराजहंसीं
देवीं नमस्कृत्य च गन्धयक्ष ।
गधागमज्ञाश्च सितैर्वचोभि-
र्वक्ष्ये ससार शुभगधसार ॥३॥

1 My friend Dr V. Raghavan, who is in charge of the *Revised Cata Catalogorum*, has informed me that no MSS of the *Gandhasāra* and *Gandhavāda* have come to his notice so far

2 *Vide* article on *Cosmetics* in *Encyclo Brittannica*, Vol 6, (14th Edn), pp 485-488 Cosmetics are substances of diverse origin scientifically compounded and used (1) to cleanse, (2) to allay skin troubles, (3) to cover up imperfections, and (4) to beautify. They have been used by men and women from the earliest times *Probably they originated in the East.* Egypt has the earliest records of them from 3500 B. C onwards as follows —

3500 B C —Unguent vase in alabaster (British Museum).

2800 B. C —Mirrors of 6 th Dynasty

1500 B C.—Kohl vases in *glass* and Stibium pencils of 18th Dynasty.

Do —Papyrus showing men and women having lumps of *nard* on the top of head.

1350 B. C —Unguent vases found in Tutan Khamun's tomb contained aromatics which were still fragrant when opened.

1600 B C.—A granite tablet on a Sphinx portraying the offering of incense and fragrant oil or unguent.

The Bible refers to cosmetics used by Jewish women. The Koran refers to aromatics. Nero (A. D 54) and his wife made free use of perfumes and cosmetics. The Romans used almond, rose or quince for solid unguents. Liquid ones were made from flowers, spices and gums.

देवानां शुभगंधधूपसहितस्यार्चाविधेरर्पकं
नृणां पुष्टिकर त्रिवर्गफलद स्वस्याप्यलक्ष्मीहरं ॥४॥
राज्ञां तोषकरं विदग्धवनिताचित्तप्रमोदप्रद
शास्त्र सच्छुभगंधशासनमतो दिङ्मात्रमत्रोच्यते ॥५॥

तत्रादौ परिभाषा ॥ [1]

भावनं पाचनं बोधो वेधो धूपनवासने ।
एव षडत्र कर्माणि द्रव्येपूक्तानि कोविदैः ॥६॥
पिष्ट्वा गधाबुनि द्रव्याण्युक्तान्यालोड्य भावयेत् ।
भाव्य संशोषयेत्पश्चादेवं वारास्तु पचपन् ॥७॥
कुर्याद्भावनमेतत्स्यात्पाक स्याद्बहुधा यथा ।
पंचपत्रपुटाबद्ध मृल्लिप्त चांगुलोन्नतं ॥८॥
पचेत्कारीशके वह्नौ पुटपाकोऽयमीरित. ।
गर्ते पात्र गधगर्भं कृत्वापूर्य मृदावटं ॥९॥
प्रज्वाल्योग्निस्तदुपरि गर्तपाको भवेदय ।
नालिकां द्रव्यगर्भां तु रौद्रे कुर्याद्विमुद्रितां ॥१०॥
सप्ताह वेणुपाक स्यादग्नौ वा स्वेदनेंबुना ।
वस्त्रं गधद्रव्यगर्भं भाडे समुद्रितेंतरा ॥११॥
स्वेद्य गधाबुवाष्पेण दोलापाके विधिस्त्वयं ।
सभावनाद्यबुद्रव्य गर्भे पुटितकर्पटे ॥१२॥
मुद्रिते मुद्रित वृहत्खुसर्परपुटे न्यसेत् ।
तले प्रज्वालयेद्वह्नि यावदंत स्थित जलं ॥१३॥
शुष्येत्खर्परपाकोऽयं मातुलुंगातरे स्थित ।
अपनीय ततो बाह्याभ्यतरं परिवर्त्य च ॥१४॥
द्रव्यं तन्मध्यग कृत्वा पिपचेत्पुटपाकवत् ।
पाकोऽय वैजयूर स्याद्बिल्वे तद्वच्चकारभ ॥१५॥
शिग्रुमूलाभ्यन्तरे च तद्वत्पाकस्तु मूलजः ।
भाडं गंधद्रव्यगर्भं मुद्रित जलपूरिते ॥१६॥
स्थूले भाडे स्थित पाकाद्धसपाकोऽनले भवेत् ।

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1 *Vide* article on *Perfumes* in *Encyclo. Britannica* (11th Edn) Vol. 17, pp. 505-507. Perfumes are substances which by their fragrance gratify the sense of smell. The history of perfumes is closely associated with that of cosmetics. Many of the earliest forms were made by *digesting* odorous vegetable substances with *sesame*, *almond*, or *olive oil*. The principle underlying this process is still made use of although in an improved form, which is called *Maceration*.—This article then deals with such topics as *Distillation*, *Expression*, *Extraction*, *Animal Perfumes*, *Balsams*, *Gums* and *Oleo-resins*, *Synthetics* and *Isolates*, *Artificial Flower-oils* and *Finished Perfumes*.

स्याद्धान्यराशिमध्यस्थे कालपाकश्चिरेण स. ॥१७॥"

Folio 4—Colophon of 1st *Prakaraṇa* reads —

" इति गंगाधरकृतौ गंधसारे परिभाषाप्रकरण प्रथमं । अथ गधोदकानि ।
नतसुरदानवसेव्यो गौरीकुचकलशजलशाली ।
वरभुजगाधिपभूषो हर सचद्र. प्रमोदमादध्यात् ॥"

Folio 5a—" प्रथातराद्गधजलभेदा ॥ छ ॥ इति पचविधगंधजल यथोत्तरं ॥ "

Folio 5b—" इति गंधोदकानि

Folio 6b— " अथ पारिजाता "

Folio 7b— " मुखवास: " " प्रयुक्तमुखवासश्च धूपिताळयमध्यग. । सेवेत गधतैल हर
मनोहर ॥२॥ "

Folio 8b— " अथोद्वर्त्तनानि "

Folio 10a-- " अथ स्नानं । गौरीकरजभिन्नेंदुकलांशरसमिश्रितं ।
गगासलिलमीशस्य स्नानकारि पुनातु व. ॥ "

Folio 11a-- " अथ जलवास ॥
सुवर्णपद्मधूलीभिर्वासितं चद्रशीतलं ।
सुरलोकनदीसंगशुद्ध नीर पुनातु व ॥ "

Folio 12a-- " अथ मृगराज: ". . " अथ धूपा "

Folio 15b-- " अथ वर्ति ॥
दवद्गधकोशकारकसिक्थयुतैर्विमलवस्रसवद्धैः ।
गधद्रव्यै. पिष्टै छायाशुष्कास्तु वर्तय कार्या· ॥ "

Folio 17a--"अथो धूलन ॥
लतामदिरमध्यस्थ पुष्परेणुविभूषित ।
वनमालाधर कृष्णः प्रमोद विदधातु व ॥ "

Folio 17b—"अथ निर्यास "

Folio 18a--"अथ स्यदु ". " अथ कुसुमादि हुति "

Folio 19a-- " अथ कृत्रिमद्रव्याणि "

Folios 21 22–"अथ द्रव्यमेलकप्रकार ॥

इष्टद्रव्ये मितानकानेकादींश्च विलोमत ।
लिखित्वा तदधश्चैव तानेव क्रमशो लिखेत् ॥ १ ॥
एकोन भाति तेपाते लब्धमेकस्य कीर्त्तिता ।
प्रस्वारस्तेन गुणिते परे च द्विविभाजिते ॥ २ ॥
लब्ध द्वियोगप्रस्तारस्रयादि योगोऽध्ययं विधि ।

पूर्वोदितेष्वपिच कच्छपुटेपु विद्धा
द्वि त्र्यादिभाग परिकल्पना यात्र गंधान् ।
संयोज्ययेदुचितपाचनधूपबोध-
वेदाद्यभिज्ञकथितागमसप्रदायै· ॥ ४ ॥
एव प्रस्तार षट्कर्म परीक्षा शोधनादिवित् ।
यो गध योजयेत्स स्यात् श्रेय· कीर्त्योरिहास्पदम् ॥ ५ ॥ छ ॥

इति गंगाधरकृतौ गधसारे गंधोदकादिनानागंधोपयोगि प्रकरणं द्वितीयम् ॥ "

Folio 22--" परीक्षितैर्गंधवर्गैं प्रयुक्तैः सुजनैर्जनै· ।
मोदितो भुजगेन्दुभ्यां जपत्यद्रिसुतापति ॥ १ ॥
अथ द्रव्यनिघंटुस्तत्परीक्षा च निगद्यते ।
याभ्यां ज्ञात्वा परीक्षापि तानि गधेषु योजयेत् ॥ २ ॥
अमु निघटू चंबुनिधिं वक्तु कार्त्स्न्येन क· क्षमः ।
किंतु स्वव्यवहारार्थं किंचिदुद्धृत्य कथ्यते ॥ ३ ॥ "

The *Dravyas* are classified into different *Vargas* as follows —

तालीसपत्र, झूल, रामकर्पूर, प्रवापा, दमन, मूर्वा *or* मरूवा, तुलसी--इति पत्रवर्ग

लवंग, कुंकुम केसर, केतकी, कदंब:, वकुल, सुरपुनाग, शतपुष्पा, मालती, जाई, माधवी, कुंद , मुचकुंदः, चंपक ,[1] सुरपुष्पी, प्रियंगु, शेफाली--इति पुष्पवर्ग (*folio 23*).

मरीच, कक्कोळ, सूक्ष्मैला, स्थूलैला, जाईफल, रेणुका, हरीतकी, आमलकी, लताकस्तूरी, चोरपुष्पी, सोफ, धणिया (धानकं), विहाणी, शांडिल्य, श्रीफल, सरेसी--इति फलवर्ग· (*folio 23*).

कर्पूरत्वक्, तज, लवगत्वक्, शैलवालुक, एलावालुक, नली, खर्जूरकोश, अशोकत्वक्, लगतु., त्वग्वर्ग (*folio 24*).

चंदन, अगुरु, रक्तचंदन, देवदारु, मंजिष्ठा, इक्षु--इति काष्ठवर्ग (*folio 25*).

कूण, पुष्करमूल, भद्रमुस्ता, गधमुस्ता, महासुगध, गाठिवन, थुणेरा, वाल, उशीर, लामज्जक, जटामासी, कर्चूर--इति मूलवर्ग (*folio 25*).

कर्पूर., सिल्हारस:, वोल, गुग्गुल, श्रीवास, सरल, राल, शर्करा--इति निर्यासवर्ग

कस्तूरी, सयाल, नखी, घृत, मधु, मयण, लाक्षा, वंशलोचन--इति जीववर्ग·

अथैषा परीक्षा । ....पत्राणि, . . पुष्पाणि, . . मूलानि,. . निर्यास ,.. ....
जीवानि (*folio 27*)

" इत्थं शालितगंधशास्त्रसततान्यासात्समासादित-
प्रज्ञोन्मेषविशेषशालिभणितिर्गंगाधर कोविदः ।

1 The use of चम्पक oil by ladies is illustrated by the following Subhāṣita .—
"वक्षोजौ निविडं निरुद्धय सिचयेनाकुञ्च्य मध्य शनै· । कृत्वा चम्पकतैलसेकमचला संपीड्य मन्द शिरः ।
पाणिभ्या चलकङ्कणोद्यतरणत्करोत्तराभ्या करौ ।-त्यभ्यङ्गं परिपश्यत· सकुतुक दारेन्तरप्रेयस· ॥ "

शास्त्रं दुर्गमविप्रकीर्णवितत संगृह्य वाक्यैर्व्यधात्
ह (?) त्सारं तनोत्वयमिहाचंद्रार्कतार स्थितिं ॥ १९ ॥
अनुना वर राजार्ह घनसारजुषा मम ।
ग्रथेन गधसारेण प्रीयतां पार्वतीपति ॥ २० ॥

इति श्रीगंगाधरस्य कृतौ गंधसारे निघटुपरिसारे निघटुपरीक्षादि प्रकरणं तृतीय ॥ ''
(*folio 27*)

The foregoing analysis of the rare MS of this treatise on *Gandhaśāstra* gives us the following information about its author and the scope of the treatise with allied particulars —

(1) Gaṅgādhara is the author of the work He calls himself *Kovida, i.e*, an expert in this science of Cosmetics and Perfumery designated as *Gandhaśāstra.*

(2) The name of the work is *Gandhasāra* as stated by our author in all the colophons as also in the verses at the beginning and end of the work.

(3) The *Gandhaśāstra* is called by our author as दुर्गम (difficult to comprehend), विप्रकीर्ण (the materials of which are of a scattered nature) and वितत (vast in its scope or extensive) Consequently our author compiled this treatise by gathering materials from several sources (सगृह्य वाक्यैः व्यधात्)

(4) Though our author has composed his treatise on the basis of earlier materials he does not mention any work or author by name. This circumstance makes it difficult for us to fix the chronology of the author and his work In one or two places he merely states " ग्रथांतरात् " but he never mentions any ग्रंथ or its author.

(5) Our author bows to the gods : (*i*) व्योमकेश or पार्वतीपति, *i.e*, *Śiva*, (*ii*) गजास्य or Ganapati, (*iii*) देवी (Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech) and (*iv*) गन्धर्वयक्ष or गन्धयक्ष (the presiding deity of the गधशास्त्र) attending upon God Śiva.

(6) Our author, though himself an expert (or कोविद्) in *Gandhaśāstra* bows to his predecessors in the field, who are styled as " गन्धागमज्ञान् ".

(7) Our author mentions six processes in the manufacture of Cosmetics, *viz* —

(*i*) भावन—Infusing or saturating powders with fluid.

(*ii*) पाचन—Ripening or cooking or decoction of materials which have undergone the process of भावन

(*iii*) वोध—This is defined as follows (*fol 2*) —

" वोधस्तु वोधकैर्द्रव्यैः कुचकोलसुरादिभिः ।
दशापिंडचतुर्थांशो वोधस्यात्ते दलाह्वयाः ॥ "

(*iv*) वेध—"वेधो ह्रींदुमदाक्षांक्षचलकीरोनुचद्रकैं ।
कार्यं क्वचिद्बोधकैश्च मित्रामित्रविवेकत ॥
द्वीपाशा· शुकशाल्यकंनखासिल्हालवादय· ।
वेधेयतेश्च पिंडश्च कलाशो ६४ ध शताशक ॥
देयश्चद्रस्तज्जल च चंद्राब्धिगुणितो मद ।
द्विशताशस्तैलवेधे चद्रांशाद्विगुणो मद ॥ "

(*v*) धूपन—Fumigating with aromatic vapours of incense, etc.

(*vi*) वासन—Scenting with the perfumes of flowers, etc.

(8) In dealing with पाचन our author describes some varieties of पाक such as (1) पुटपाक, (2) गर्तपाक, (3) वेणुपाक, (4) दोलापाक, (5) खर्परपाक, (6) वैजयूरपाक, (7) कालपाक, etc. Indian physicians are familiar with these processes of manufacturing medicines, which were obviously used for the manufacture of cosmetics and perfumes.

(9) The treatise consists of three chapters as follows —

(*i*) परिभाषा प्रकरण, explaining the technical terminology about the *Gandhaśāstra*;

(*ii*) गधोदकादि नानागंधोपयोगि प्रकरण, dealing with the manufacture of different kinds of aromatic products such as गंधोदक, पारिजात, मुखवास, गधतैल, वर्ति, निर्यास, जलवास, स्यदु, धूलन etc.

(*iii*) निघटुपरिसारे निघटुपरीक्षादि प्रकरण, which first gives a glossary of aromatic materials classified under (1) *Leaves*, (2) *flowers*, (3) *fruits*, (4) *barks*, (5) *sticks* and (6) *roots* The author then states how these materials are to be examined before they are used for manufacture.

It appears to me even from my non technical study of this rare treatise that its author Gaṅgādhara had a thorough knowledge of the science of *Gandhaśāstra*. He has also successfully attempted in the present treatise to systematise this knowledge for the benefit of humanity because (1) it is useful in the worship of the gods which requires गध and धूप, (2) it contributes to the nourishment of men, (3) it enables men to realize the fruits of the three objects of human existence, *viz.*, धर्म, अर्थ and काम, (त्रिवर्गफलदं), (4) it pleases the Kings and (5) it gladdens the minds of accomplished women, and (6) it removes one's poverty also (स्वस्य अपि अलक्ष्मीहर)

According to the statement of the writer of the article on Cosmetics in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* the Cosmetics had their origin probably

in the East though the earliest records about their use about 3500 B. C. and even earlier are found in Egypt. In view of the suggested Eastern origin of the *Gandhaśāstra* a systematic history of this Science and art from Sanskrit and allied sources needs to be elaborately reconstructed For this reconstruction the present treatises *viz.*, the *Gandhasāra* of Gaṅgādhara and the *Gandhavāda* with Marathi commentary will be very helpful. In the present paper I have only analysed the MS of the *Gandhasāra* and have reserved a study of the MS of the *Gandhavāda* for a separate paper.

The Romans made use of the *rose* in the preparation of solid unguents In the *Gandhasāra* no reference to the *rose* is found The use of rose in the manufacture of perfumery began very late in India *i. e*, in the latter half of the 18th Century as proved by me in two papers [1] regard ing the manufacture of rose-water in India.

According to the *Vaiśeṣikas, Gandha* or smell is one of the 24 properties or *guṇas*. It is a characteristic property of the *Pṛthvī* or earth Earth is accordingly defined as गधवती पृथिवी Buchanan [2] in his account of the Perfumery industry in Bihar and Arwal about A D. 1811 mentions the manufacture of an essence having the smell of dry clay as follows —

"The most strange of these essences is that made with the *clay*, which communicates to oil of Sandal-wood the smell, which dry clay emits, when first wetted and which to me is far from agreeable It sells at 1¼ rupee for each rupee weight" पृथिवी is गन्धवती indeed ! The word गन्ध in its bearing on perfumes has considerably influenced the Sanskrit language as will be seen from the following terminology recorded by Mr. Apte in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* —

गन्ध —Pounded sandal-wood.

गन्धं—Black aloe wood.

गन्धाधिक—A kind of perfume

गन्धांबु—Fragrant water.

गन्धाम्ला—The wild lemon tree.

गन्धाश्मन्—Sulphur

गन्धाष्टक—Mixture of 8 fragrant substances offered to deities varying

1 These papers are — "Some Sanskrit Verses on the Manufacture of Rose-water," etc (*Poona Orientalist*, Vol VIII, pp 1—8) and "Buchanan's Account of the Manufacture of Rose-water and perfumes (A. D 1811) in Bihar and Arwal (*New Indian Antiquary*, Vol VII)

2 *Vide* p 633 of *Patna Gaya Report*, Vol II, Published by Bihar & Orissa Res Society, Patna

in kind according to the nature of the deity to whom they are offered.

गन्धाखु —The musk-rat.

गन्धाजीव —The vendor of perfumes.

गन्धाढ्य—Rich in odour, very fragrant " स्रजश्चोत्तमगन्धाढ्य: " (*Mb.*).

गन्धाढ्य —The orange tree.

गन्धाढ्यं—Sandal-wood.

गन्धहस्तिन्—The scent elephant.

" यस्य गन्धं समाघ्राय न तिष्ठंति प्रतिद्विपा ।
स वै गधगजो नाम नृपतेर्विजयावह: ॥ "

गन्धोपजीविन्—A perfumer.

गन्धोतु:—The civet-cat.

गन्धकारिका—A female servant whose business it is to prepare perfumes.

गन्धकाष्ठ—Aloe-wood.

गन्धकुटी—A kind of perfume.

गन्धकेलिका (चेलिका)—Musk.

गन्धतैल—Fragrant oil.

गन्धदारु—Aloe-wood.

गन्धधारिन्—An epithet of Śiva.

गन्धधूलि —Musk.

गन्धनकुल—Musk–rat

गन्धनिलया—A kind of jasmine.

गन्धपत्रा—A species of zedoary.

गन्धपलाशिका—Turmeric.

गन्धपाषाण.—Sulphur.

गन्धपिश, गन्धपिशाचिका—Smoke of burnt fragrant-resin, supposed to attract demons by fragrance.

गन्धपुष्प —Vetasa plant.

गन्धपुष्प—Flowers and sandal offered to deities at the time of worship.

गन्धपुष्पा—An indigo plant.

गन्धफली—The *Priyaṅgu* creeper—A bud of the campaka tree.

गन्धबंधु.—The mango tree.

गन्धमादन—A large black bee; Sulphur;

—Name of a mountain to the east of Meru renowned for its fragrant forests.

गन्धमादनी—Spirituous liquor.

गन्धमादिनी—Lac

गंधमृग—Musk deer.

गंधमैथुन —A bull.

गंधमोहिनी—A bud of the campaka tree.

गंधयुक्ति—Preparation of perfumes "एषा मया सेविता गन्धयुक्ति" (*Mrcchakatika 8, Yājñavalkya Smrti 1,231*; *Mudrārākṣasa 1. 4*).

गंधरस—Myrrh

गंधागक.—Turpentine.

गंधराजः—Kind of jasmine

गंधलता—The priyangu creeper.

गंधवहः—The wind.

गंधवाह —Musk deer.

गंधविह्वल —Wheat

गंधवृक्ष—The *Śāla* tree

गंधव्याकुल—A kind of fragrant berry (कक्कोल).

गंधशुण्डिनी—Musk-rat.

गंधशेखर—Musk

गंधसार —Sandal, kind of jasmine.

गंधसुखी (सूची)—The musk shrew

गंधसोम—The white water lily

गंधहारिका—A female servant whose business is to prepare prefumes. *Cf* गंधकारिका

The above collection of words has many cultural associations characteristic of Indian life as reflected in classical Sanskrit For any systematic study of the Indian science and art of perfumery on the basis of extant literature, technical or otherwise, it is necessary to prepare a comprehensive glossary of terms pertaining to this science and art In the absence of such a glossary it is difficult to understand the terminology peculiar to the *Gandhaśāstra* as used in such treatises as the *Gandhasāra* of Gangādhara and the *Gandhavāda* with Marathi commentary now discovered by me.

That there were special treatises (before A. D. 1000) on *Gandhaśāstra* by Lokeśvara and others is proved by the following stanzas of Padmaśrī, the Buddhist author of the work on erotics, *viz.*, *Nāgarasarvasva* (ed. by T Tripathi, Bombay, 1921)

Pages 11-15 (गन्धाधिकार) Stanzas 1 and 2.—

" नानाविदग्धवासा मुख्या मदनप्रदीपका स्यात ।
वररुमुक प्रयत्नाच्छिक्ष्येतादौ सुगन्धशास्त्रेभ्य ॥ १ ॥
लोकेश्वरादिकेभ्योऽपटुमतिदुर्बोधगन्धशास्त्रेभ्य ।
संगृह्य सारभागं प्रविधास्ये सुप्रसिद्धपदैः ॥ २ ॥ "

The Cosmetics and Perfumes as described by Padmaśrī (c A. D. 1000) in the chapter called the *Gandhādhikāra* and explained by his commentator Jagajjyotirmalla of Nepal (c A D 1617–1633) are as follows —

(1) केशपटवास prepared from नख, कर्पूर, कुङ्कुम, अगुरु, शिल्हक and शित शर्करा
(2) कक्षवास· prepared from पत्रक, शैलज, शिल्हक, कुङ्कुम, मुस्ता, अभया हरीतकी and गुड
(3) गृहवास: prepared from कस्तूरी, कर्पूर, कुङ्कुम, नख, मासि (जटामासि ?), वाल (चन्दन), अगुरु, (श्रीखड) and गुड.
(4) मुखवास prepared from जातीफल, कस्तूरी, कर्पूर, चूतवारि (आम्ररस), अगुरु, शिल्हक, मधु, गुड सित (शर्करा) *for ordinary persons.*
(5) वदनवास (for Kings) prepared from त्वक्, एला, मासि (जटामासि), शठी, अगुरु, कुङ्कुम, मुस्त, घनचदन, जातीफल, लवङ्ग, कङ्कोल, कर्पूर, वशरोचन, शर्करा, सहकार, (आम्ररस)
(6) जलवास. (for Kings) prepared from सूक्ष्मैला, कस्तूरी, कुष्ट, तगर, पत्र, चंदन—This preparation is called मलयानिल–जलवास.
(7) पूगवास (for Kings) prepared from कुष्ट, तगर, जातीफल, कर्पूर, लवङ्ग, एला and पूगफल
(8) स्नानीय चूर्णवास prepared from त्वक्, अगुरु, मुस्त, तगर, चौर, शठी, ग्रन्थि, पर्ण, नख, कस्तूरी
(9) चतु सम prepared from कस्तूरी, कर्पूर, कुङ्कुम, चन्दन
(10) उद्वर्तन (for Kings) prepared from कस्तूरी, कर्पूर, चन्दन, शैलेय, नाग (नागकेशर), अगुरु
(11) चूर्ण (for Kings) prepared from शैलज, वाल, लवङ्ग, त्वक्, पत्र, सुरभिशिल्ह, तगर, मासी, कुष्ट.
(12) रतिनाथ धूपवर्ति (for Kings) prepared from कर्पूर, अगुरु, चन्दन, पूति (पूतिरञ्ज), प्रियङ्गु, वाल, मासी
(13) रतिनायकान्ता धूपवर्ति prepared from नख, अगुरु, शिल्हक, वाल, कुन्दुरु, शैलेय, चन्दन, श्यामा.

(14) मदनोत्सव दीपवर्ति (for royal palace) prepared from देवदारु, मरुवक, मुस्त, लाक्षा, अगुरु, शालचूर्ण, कर्पूर

(15) दीपवर्ति (another variety) made of गन्धरस, अगुरु, गुग्गुलु, सर्जरस, पूति, कर्पूर.

Padmaśrī's chapter on Cosmetics and Perfumes analysed above gives us in a nut-shell some of the popular products and their aromatic ingredients [1] as current in c. 1000 A. D., and even earlier. This chapter, therefore, provides us a good technical back-ground for the more elaborate systematisation of the *Gandhaśāstra* as we notice in the *Gandhasāra* and *Gandhavāda*, which are obviously later than A. D. 1000.

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1 For the identification of these ingredients readers are requested to consult the Sanskrit *ṭippaṇi* of Mr. Tripathi, which is very learned and critical.

2. Vanamāli Mis'ra, a Pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and His Works — Between A. D. 1600 and 1660*

According to Aufrecht[1] Bhaṭṭoji had a pupil of the name कृष्णदत्तमिश्र called also वनमालिमिश्र. He was the son of महेशमिश्र and composed a work called the कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप. Vanamāli Miśra also composed a work called संध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका,[2] a MS of which has been described by Stein.[3] It begins as follows :—

"महेश्वरं नमस्कृत्य वनमाली महेशजः ।
करोति संध्यामंत्राणां व्याख्यां ब्रह्मप्रकाशिकां ॥"

It ends :—

"भट्टोजिदीक्षितं नत्वा कृत्वा ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका ।
व्याख्येयं संध्यामंत्राणां मिश्रेण वनमालिना ॥
वेदार्थज्ञाने न शक्ता विप्रा वेदार्थवादिना ।
संध्याख्येयं समालोक्य दृढता क्षम्यता मम ॥

इति श्रीभट्टोजिदीक्षितशिष्यकुरुक्षेत्रनिवासिमहेशमित्रात्मजवनमालिमिश्रविरचिताया संध्यामंत्र-व्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका समाप्ता"

Kondabhaṭṭa, the nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita composed a work called वैयाकरणभूषण. One वनमालिमिश्र composed a commentary on this work called "वैयाकरणमतोन्मज्जना[4]" and another work called "सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक."[5] As the

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* *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. X, Part 4, pp. 231-235

1 *CC, I, 120* — "कृष्णदत्तमिश्र called also वनमालिमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप L 2257" MS L 2257 is described by R. Mitra in his *Notices*, VII, 1884, pp. 12-14. It ends.—"इति श्रीकुरुक्षेत्रनिवासमहेशमिश्रपुत्रेण श्रीभट्टोजिदीक्षितशिष्येण श्रीमद्वनमालिमिश्रेण सरचित. कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप. समाप्त. सवत् १९२५" (= A.D 1869) This is a guide to the sacred places in Kurukṣetra.

2 *CC, II, 130* — "वनमालिमिश्र son of महेश, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. संध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका"

CC, III, 117 — Do.

CC, III, 144 — "संध्यामंत्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका by वनमालिमिश्र son of महेश IL."

3 *Catalogue of Jammu MSS*, 1894, p 21 (MS No. 5210)

4 *CC, I, 614* — "वैयाकरणभूषणमतोन्मज्जिनी by Vanamāli Miśra, L. 1783 N. P VII, 63."

CC, II, 146 — "Stein 48."

5 *CC, I, 713* — "सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक" On Syntax by Vanamāli Miśra, Lahore 6."

MSS of these works are not accessible to me, I am unable to say if this वनमालिमिश्र, the commentator of a work of Bhaṭṭoji's nephew, is identical with his namesake, the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji himself. H. P Shastri,[1] however, states that Vanamāli, the author of the वैयाकरणमतोन्मज्जनटीका, was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita himself

In my paper on the date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita published in the *Journal* of the Tirupati Oriental Institute (Vol, I, Part 2, pages 117-127) I have fixed up Bhaṭṭoji's literary career between about A. D 1560 and 1620. Subsequently I have published two papers, one on the Chronology of the Works of Varadarāja (*P. V. Kane Volume,* 1941, pages 188-199) and the other on the Chronology of the works of Nīlakantha Śukla (*New Indian Antiquary*, Vol V, 1942, pages 177-183). Both these authors were pupils of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita like Vanamāli Miśra and composed works say between A D. 1610 and 1660. We have reason to suppose that Vanamāli Miśra, their contemporary and co student studying at the feet of their common teacher Bhaṭṭoji, must have composed his works between about A D 1610 and 1660 This is a reasonable conclusion but it needs to be backed up by the evidence of contemporary MSS of the works of Vanamāli Miśra. Such evidence was not so far available to me Fortunately in Fascicule II of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Anup Sanskrit Library* at Bikaner by Dr C. K. Raja and Mr. K. M. K. Sarma (1946) I have found such evidence It is as follows

(1) *Page 134*—MS No 5 -- कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप by कुरुक्षेत्रनिवासि वनमालिमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र and pupil of भट्टोजि दीक्षित, dated *Samvat 1741* (= A. D 1684)

This guru is no other than Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita because Kaunda Bhaṭṭa in his वैयाकरणभूषणसार (Benares Edition) says —

" भट्टोजिदीक्षितै श्रेष्ठैर्निर्म्मिताः कारिका शुभा ।
कौण्डभट्टेन व्याख्याता कारिकास्ता सुविस्तरम् ॥ "

These Kārikās number 71 of which 35 have been explained by Vanamāli in this MS.

(2) *Page 145*—MS No 25 — कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप by the above author dated *Samvat 1709* (= A D 152) copied by दत्तमिश्र

1 Vide p 13 of *Des Cata of Vyākaraṇa* MSS (R A. S. B) Calcutta, Vol. VI, 1931—Bhaṭṭoji wrote 71 Kārikās after the completion of his शब्दकौस्तुभ The MS No 4929 contains the first 35 Kārikās with commentary of Vanamāli who speaks of Bhaṭṭoji as his guru —

" जगत पितरौ नत्वा पार्व्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ।
गुरुमियें कृता श्लोकाष्टीका तेषा वितन्यते ॥ "

It is clear from the above dated MSS of the कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप that this work was composed by Vanamāli Miśra prior to A. D. 1652. Most probably this MS was written during the lifetime of Vanamāli. I cannot say if he was living up to *A. D 1684*, when the other MS of this work was copied.

(3) *Page 137*—MS No 61—सर्वतीर्थप्रकाश by the above Vanamāli Miśra (this MS bears no date)

(4) *Page 161*—MS No. 19—दिव्यानुष्ठानपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट copied by वनमालिमिश्र in *Samvat 1678* (= A. D. 1621).

The Catalogue does not say if the copyist वनमालिमिश्र of the above MS of *A D 1621* was pupil of Bhaṭṭoji. Most probably this वनमालिमिश्र is identical with his namesake, the author of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप, सर्वतीर्थप्रकाश, सध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका, and perhaps of *वैयाकरणमतोन्मज्जना* and *सिद्धान्ततत्वविवेक* If this identity is proved to be correct we can definitely say that this MS of A. D. 1621 is a specimen of the handwriting of one of the pupils of the great grammarian Bhattoji Dīkṣita

As regards Aufrecht's statement that "कृष्णदत्तमिश्र" was another name of "वनमालिमिश्र" I have to say that it needs to be verified. In this connection I have to observe that the Bikaner MS of his कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप dated A D 1652 was copied by one "दत्तमिश्र" as stated in the Catalogue. It is possible to suppose that "दत्तमिश्र" in an abbreviated form of "कृष्णदत्त-मिश्र" but I cannot say if कृष्णदत्तमिश्र and वनमालिमिश्र are identical Possibly दत्तमिश्र, who copied in A. D. 1652 the MS of the कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप of वनमालिमिश्र, was a different person, though he might have been a member of the family of वनमालिमिश्र

A Madhva writer of the name वनमालिमिश्र of the भारद्वाजगोत्र and hailing from the neighbourhood of Vṛndāvana composed मारुतमण्डन[1] and other works between c. A. D 1575 and 1650 On folio 57 of MS *No 718 of 1882–83* of मारुतमण्डन in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute he quotes from मनोरमा as follows —

"उक्तं हि मनोरमाया अश्वक इत्यत्राश्वशब्दः अश्वे वर्तते, कन्प्रत्ययस्तु प्रतिकृतिरूपे सदृशे इत्येके । अन्ये तु गोर्वाहीक इतिवत् अश्वशब्द." etc.

The "मनोरमा" mentioned in the above quotation may be the प्रौढमनोरमा of Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita (A. D 1560–1620). The identity of वनमालिमिश्र,

1 See my paper on this work in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol XXII, (1946).

the author of the मारुतमण्डन, with his namesake, the author of the कुरुक्षेत्र-प्रदीप (MS of A. D. 1652), needs to be examined on documentary evidence. I have only recorded here the foregoing points to enable other scholars to study this point further. Chronologically there would be no difficulty in identifying these two authors of the same name वनमालिमिश्र

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3 Some Authors of The Ārḍe Family*

And Their Chronology — Between A. D. 1600 and 1825

HALL[1] in his *Bibliography* refers to Mss of the works of a writer on logic by name "Krṣṇabhat Ārde" but indicates no chronology for them. Dr Satischandra Vidyabhusana in his *History of Indian Logic*[2] refers to this author as Krsnabhatta Āde and states that he died about 150 years ago If the statement made by Vidyabhusana is correct we shall have to suppose that Krṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārḍe (not Āde) died about *A D 1771.* This statement, however, seems to be wrong as will be seen from the evidence to be recorded in this paper, which shows that this author was living at Benares thirty years after the probable date of his death mentioned by Vidyabhusana, who unfortunately records no evidence for his surmise.

Aufrecht records about 74 works of this author. In CC II, 23 and CC III, 26 Aufrecht calls him son of Raṅganātha. In CC III, 114 he informs us that one रङ्गनाथ आरड, son of महादेव, wrote दशकुमारचरितपूर्वपीठिकासार (Stein 81). Hall in his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* (*Bib. Ind.* 1859) states that a rumour had reached him regarding a commentary on the *Vāsavadattā* by Krṣṇabhatta Ārde but Aufrecht makes no mention of this com-

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* *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XII, Part II, pp 63-69.

1 *Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems* by Fitzedward Hall, Calcutta, 1859, pp, 31, 35, 37, 56, 59

p 31—गदाधरीविवृत्ति and कृष्णभट्टी by Krṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde, son of Ranganātha, and pupil of one Hari The Author was a Marahatta Brahmin of Benares. He had an elder brother Nārāyana He wrote a commentary on the निर्णयसिन्धु.

p 35—जगदीशतोषिणी a commentary by Krṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārde (=KA)

p 37—सिद्धान्तलक्षणक्रोड by KA.

p 56—शक्तिवादविवरण by KA, son of Nārāyana Bhatta, son of Ranganātha Bhatta.

p. 59— आख्यातवाद टिप्पणी by KA.

2 *Vide* p. 486 of Calcutta Edition, 1921 "Krṣṇabhaṭṭa Āde was a Marathā, who wrote a gloss on Gadādharī called Gadādharī Kāśikā and one on Śiromani's Tattva-Cintāmaṇi while residing at Benares where he died about 150 years ago The gloss has been printed in Telugu characters" Krṣnabhatta begins his Kāśikā thus —

"श्रीकृष्ण मुकुरानम्य कृष्णो नारायणानुज. ।
गदाधरमतार्यानां टिप्पणीं तनुतेऽद्भुताम् ॥
राङ्गनाथी कृष्णशर्मा पण्डितेभ्य कृताञ्जलि ।
याचते भूय आनम्य दृष्य बुद्ध्वा वचो मम ॥"

mentary Hall further informs us in foot-note 1 on p 47 of his *Preface* to *Vāsavadattā* as follows — Krṣṇabhaṭṭa was " a Maratha of Benares, son of Raṅganātha and pupil of one Hari. Among his works are huge commentaries on the निर्णयसिन्धु, गदाधरी and जगदीशी The second is called काशिका or गदाधरीविवृत्ति, and the third मञ्जूषा or जगदीशतोषिणी The गदाधरी is by गदाधरभट्टाचार्य The जगदीशी by जगदीशतर्कालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य They annotated respectively the whole and a part of the दीधिति of रघुनाथशिरोमणिभट्टाचार्य which consists of notes on the first two Sections of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya's तत्त्वचिंतामणि, a celebrated treatise of Nyāya philosophy "

M M Professor P. V Kane makes the following remarks regarding the above author but indicates no chronology for his works —

" Comm (on निर्णयसिन्धु A D 1612) रत्नमाला or दीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे " [1]

" कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे (or आरड), son of रघुनाथ of Benares, Author of रत्नमाला alias दीपिका on निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकरभट्ट " [2]

The foregoing remarks of several scholars like *Hall, Aufrecht, Kane,* reveal that Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārde was not only a great logician but also a learned commentator on works pertaining to *dharmaśāstra* and *Kāvya* Though I have not before me any Mss of the several works of this author I shall record in this paper some contemporary evidence which conclusively proves the chronology of this author.

The India Office Library Catalogue [3] contains a description of 11 fragments of the *Kāśikā* of Krsnabhatta Ārde This description is concluded with the remarks —" Date of this part (11th) सवत् १८५७ मिति चइतवदी १२ वारसनीचर All parts were written about the same time " These remarks show that the above fragments were copied in Samvat 1857 = *A D* 1801. Elsewhere [4] in this Catalogue Mss of अनुमानमञ्जूषा on the जगदीशी by this author are described but this description contains no dates of the Mss

1 *Vide* p 574 of *Hist of Dharmaśāstra* Vol I, 1930 (B O R. I)

2 *Ibid*, p 687 — *Vide* Aufrecht, *CC I*, 298- निर्णयसिन्धु comm by कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे " Hall, p 31, K 182, B. 3 100, Burnell, 1306, Lahore, 10, Oppert II, 8045 (Krsna Śarmā) "

3 Part IV (Philosophy and Tantra Mss) by Windisch and Eggeling, 1894, pp 618-619

4 *Ibid*, p 625-627—Mss Nos 1922, 1923 —Vol I, has the following couplets after the Colophon—

" अक्षपादमतार्थाना काशिका मुक्तिकाशिका ।
यथा स्यक्तशरीराणा काशिका मुक्तिकाशिका ॥ १ ॥
हरि पिता हरिर्माता हरिर्भ्राता हरि सुहृत् ।
हरिरेव जगत्सर्वं हरेरन्यन्नभाति मे ॥ २ ॥"

Colophon of Vol. II reads—

" इत्यारडोपाह्वकृष्णभट्टविरचिता चतुर्दशलक्षणीमञ्जूषा ॥ "

I was under the impression that Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārḍe was a Deśastha Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin My friend Mr Raghunātha Shastri Patankar of Rajapur informed me, however, that there is a family of Karhāḍā Brahmins[1] of the name "Ārḍe" now residing in the Rajapur Taluka of the Ratnagiri District and that he is in touch with the present members of this family I have requested him to send me a genealogy of this family to enable me to see if our Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārḍe, the logician, belonged to this family originally and then migrated to Benares for his education.

The following evidence shows that Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārḍe was living at Benares about *A. D. 1801–02*, the date of the India Office Ms of his work referred to above.

In a Marathi Magazine[2] containing materials for the history of the Kāyastha Prabhus the history of a caste dispute during the time of Peshwa Bajirao II is recorded. In this account of the dispute[3] a letter from Benares Pandits is reproduced. It is addressed to the Poona Brahmins, and is signed by about 81 Brahmins of Benares grouped as follows.—

40—Mahārāṣtra Brahmins ——	संमतोयमर्थ.	(महाराष्ट्राना)
4—Vājasaneyi Brahmins—	„ —	(वाजसनेयिनां)
21—Chittapāvan Brahmins—	„ —	(चित्तपावनानां)
9—Karhāḍā Brahmins—	„ —	(करहाटकाना)
7—Karnāṭaka Brahmins—	„ —	(करनाटकाना)
—		
81		

The first name in the Karhātaka group we find is the name " कृष्णभटजी अर्डे," while the sixth name is " बाळमुकुंद अर्डे " The letter is dated *Śaka 1723* or *Samvat 1858*[4] = *A. D 1801* I feel no doubt that ' कृष्णंभटजी

1 In the Gotrāvali of Karhāḍā Brahmins with me I find the surname " Ārde " with *gotras* (1) काश्यप and (2) भारद्वाज It is necessary to examine the works of Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārde and find out if he has recorded his own gotra incidentally

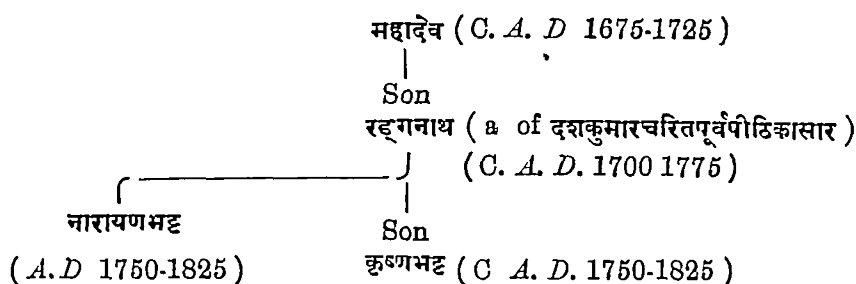
2 " कायस्थ प्रभूच्या इतिहासाचीं साधनें, Vol I, No. 11 (Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay—" ग्रामण्याची हकीकत "–प्रकरण दुसरें), pp 27-31

3 *Ibid*, pp. 30—31 The letter begins—' स्वस्तिश्रीमद्दण्डकारण्यान्तर्गतभीमरथीनाभिद्वयसंगस्थो-पलक्षितपुण्याख्यग्रामस्थ दाक्षिणात्यराजर्षिधर्माधिकारी मात पुणे व आळंदे व समस्त ब्राह्मणान्प्रति-आर्यावर्तप्रदेश आनन्दवनत्रिकूटकविराजिताविमुक्त क्षेत्रस्थ भट्टधर्माधिकारिशेषप्रभृतीमनेका नतयो विलसतु चैत्रशुक्लपंचम्यवधि अत्रत्यक्षेममस्ति भवदीयं तदनुदिनमेधमानमाशास्महे. विशेषस्तु भाषया—आपण माघकृष्ण दशमीचीं पत्रें पाठविलीं तीं पावलीं, etc."

4 The letter ends—" कलात्रे सुज्ञान्प्रत्यल पद्धतिविनेत्यनेका नतयो विलसंतु. शके १७२३ दुर्मतिनामसंवत्सरे संवत् १८५८ "

आर्डे " of this letter of *A. D. 1801* is no other than "Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārde," th writer of several works on logic and other subjects mentioned by me i this paper. If this identification is accepted we have evidence to believ that this author flourished between say *A. D 1750* and *1825* or so. As th India Office Library Ms of अनुमानमञ्जूषा is dated *A. D. 1801* we have t suppose that Kṛṣṇabhatta was a full-fledged logician by *A. D. 1800* an that many of his works on logic may have been completed before th year Presuming now that he was about 50 years old in *A. D 1801* whe he consented to a letter of decision in a caste-dispute we may reasonabl allow for him a life-period between *A D 1750* and *1825* (about 75 years

The Ms of दशकुमारचरितपूर्वपीठिकासार mentioned by Stein [1] as the wor of " रङ्गनाथ आरड " son of महादेव consists of 19 folios (complete) Thi रङ्गनाथ seems to be the same as the father of कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे, the logician who was also called रङ्गनाथ as we have already seen. The genealogy of thi logician will now be as follows —



नारायणभट्ट mentioned by कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे as his brother seems to be different from his namesake, the son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट [2] This नारायण लक्ष्मीधर आरड composed a work on *dharmaśāstra* called the गृह्याग्निसागर of which Aufrecht (CC II, 32) records the following Mss —

" गृह्याग्निसागर or प्रयोगसार by नारायणभट्ट Bhāu Dāji 102, IO 48 1815 Rgb. 292, Stein 87 "

" गृह्याग्निसागर alias प्रयोगसार by नारायणभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट surnamed आरड (आरडे), quotes रामाण्डारव्याख्या on धूर्तस्वामी's भाष्य on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रयोगरत्न, निर्णयसिन्धु, भट्टोजिदीक्षित, परशुरामप्रताप and रामवाजपेयी and his own श्राद्धसागर Later than 1650 A D "

Ms " Rgb. 292" in the above entry of Aufrecht is identical with Ms *No.* 292 of 1884–87 in the Govt Mss Library at the B. O R Institute, Poona. There is another Ms of the work in the above library, *viz*, *No* 63

1 *Cata of Jammu Mss* by Peterson (1894), p 61.
2 *Vide His of Dharma* I by P V Kane, p. 540.

of 1895–1902 which is dated *Śaka* 1693 = *A. D.* 1771. Ms *No.* 292 *of* 1884-87 is dated *Śaka* 1649 = *A. D.* 1727. It is thus clear that नारायण लक्ष्मीधर आरड, the author of the गृह्याग्निसागर, flourished earlier than *A. D.* 1727 and later than *A. D* 1612, the date of निर्णयसिन्धु, which is quoted on folio 122*a* of Ms *No.* 292 *of* 1884 87 [1] as follows.—

" निर्णयसिंधौ पाराशरमाधवीये कात्यायन "

On the strength of the above evidence we can assign this author to the period *A.D 1650–1725* and consequently he is entirely different from नारायण रघुनाथ आरडे, the brother of कृष्णभट्ट आरडे (*A. D.* 1750 *to* 1825). The Ms of this work in the India Office Library is a late copy dated Śaka 1741 (=*A.D.* 1819) Professor H. D. Velankar has described two Mss of this work in his catalogue of the B B R.A Society's Mss,[2] but these Mss bear no dates The work is a compilation treating of rites regarding the maintenance of the sacred fire, and rules of expiation in cases of irregularities The author notes some Marathi equivalents[3] for Sanskrit words on folio 8 (Ms *No* 292 *of* 1884–87) It is now clear that the author of the गृह्याग्निसागर belongs to a branch of the Ārḍe family which I cannot

1 This Ms begins—

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
नत्वा कृष्णपदांभोज गणेश शकर शिवं ॥
लक्ष्मीधर च पितर भट्टनारायणं तथा ॥
यथाज्ञान विचार्याथ पक्षशिष्टैरनुष्ठित ॥
त्रीणि सूत्राणि तद्ग्रथानालोक्यान्याश्च भूरिश ॥
आरडेत्युपनामा वै भट्टनारायण सुधी ॥
गृह्याग्निसागरं चैव कुरुते शिष्टतुष्टये ॥ "

The Ms ends on folio 124—

" इति श्रीमदारडोपनामक लक्ष्मीधरसूनुनारायणभट्टकृतगृह्याग्निसागर समाप्त । शके १६४९ प्लवगमवत्सरे वैशाखवदि द्वितीयाया सौम्यवासरे लिखितमिद पुस्तकं श्रीभीमारमणविठ्ठलार्पणमस्तु ॥ ६ ॥.. . ..

आरडेत्युपनाम्ना वै भट्टनारायणेन च ॥
त्रीणी सूत्राणि तद्ग्रंथानालोक्यान्याश्च भूरिश ॥
सर्वलोकोपकाराय कृतो गृह्याग्निसागरः ॥ ६ ॥ "

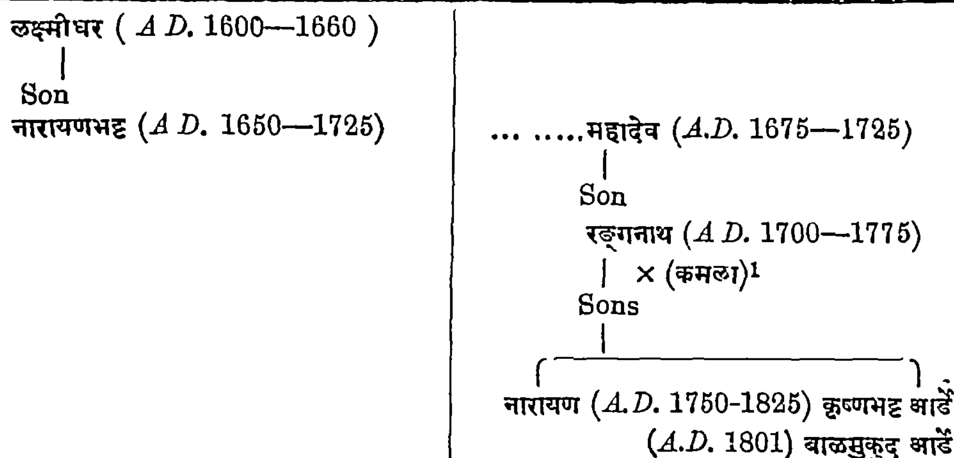
This is followed by the following endorsement in red ink—

" ॥ गोविंदभट पुराणीक माळवणकर याचे पुस्तक अ .. ..हे सत्य ॥ "

2 Vide pp. 214-215 of Velankar's Catalogue (Vol. II, 1928) Mss Nos. 679 and 680.

3 These are व्यालायद्म =वाराणे, तितिणि=चिंचा; लवली=नराची

link up with the branch represented by कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे. The two branches may be represented chronologically as follows —



The Ms of Krṣnabhatta's commentary on the *Nirnayasindhu* described by Burnell[2] was copied at Benares in *A. D.* 1829.

In one of the Sanskrit addresses[3] presented to Warren Hastings in *A. D.* 1796 by Benares Pandits, I find the following signatories —

"(42) *Krishna Bhattha*"
"(44) *Bala Mookoonda*"

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1 *Vide* p. 121 of *Hultzsch Report* II (Madras, 1896) Ms No. 1240—Comm on Gadādhara's दोषसामान्यलक्षण by कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे Begins—

" आरडीयाह्वकृष्णेन रचिता टिप्पणी परा ।
गदाधरीयगूढिळानानदयतु नित्यश ॥
गदाधरमतार्थेषु दोषसामान्यलक्षणे ।
नञ् पंचचुरितार्थानां कृत्स्नानामेवकारिका ॥
वैकुठमध्यावसतो कमलारंगनाथयो ।
देहज कृतवानेना कृष्णो नारायणानुज ॥ "

2 *Vide* p 130 of *Burnell's Catalogue of Tanjore* Mss, 1879

" निर्णयसिंधुदीपिका by कृष्णशर्मन् (कृष्णभट्ट) younger brother of नारायण. The author was a Mahraṭhā of Benares (See Hall's Vāsavadattā pref , p 47, note) Begins—

" लक्ष्मीनारायण नत्वा पितरौ च गुरूनपि ।
कृष्णशर्मा वितनुते सारार्थां सिन्धुदीपिकाम् ॥ etc. "

Writt n at Benares, Samvat 1885

(*Vide* p 6579 of *Des. Cata of Tanjore Mss*, Vol. XVIII, 1934)—Ms No 18206

3 *Vide Journal of Tanjore S M Library*, Vol II, No 1, pp 10—14 (My paper on "Testimonials of Good Conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pandits— A D 1796") See signatories to the second address to Warren Hastings

On this address there are signatures of more than 67 Mahārāṣṭra Brahmins, etc, among which the above names occur. I am inclined to think that these persons are identical with कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे and बाळमुकुंद आर्डे of the 1801 *A D.* letter from the Benares Pandits to Poona Pandits already referred to by me in this paper. Though the above signatures are not followed by the surnames of the writers in the 1796 address the circumstantial evidence is strong enough to support my identification of these writers with their namesakes in the 1801 letter. In fact I find that many signatories are common to both the documents as will be seen from the following comparison.—

Letter from Benares—*A D,* 1801	Sanskrit Addresses to Warren Hastings—*A. D* 1796, from Benares Pandits
रामचंद्रभट्ट तारे	*Rama-Chandra* Sarmā surnamed *Tarā*
हिरापडित शेष	*Heera namee* surnamed Sesha
हरिरामपडित शेष	*Sesha* Haree Rama Panta
मुकुद देव	Mookoonda *Deva*
वचभट्ट मौनी	Baoham Bhattha Sarma surnamed *Mowmee*
जयराम जोशी	*Astrologer* Jaya Rama
चितामणभट्ट कार्लेकर	Cheenta Maneo surnamed *Kaarlakar*
बाळदीक्षित अयाचित	Bala Krishna Deekshita surnamed *Ayacheeta*
कृष्णंभटजी अर्डे	Krishna Bhattha
बाळमुकुंद अर्डे	Bala Mookoonda
कृष्णदीक्षित लेले	Krishna *Lalla*
चिंतामणदीक्षित कानडे	Cheentamaneo Deekshceta surnamed *Karnataka*

It appears clear to me that Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārḍe, the logician, was a signatory to the Sanskrit address to Warren Hastings, an English translation of which by Mr. Wilkins is found on pp 755-768 of the *Debates of House of Lords*, London, 1797. Kṛṣṇabhatta did not, therefore, die about A D. 1771, as suggested by Dr. S. Vidyabhusana in his *History of Indian Logic.*

Our Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Ārḍe was a junior contemporary of the celebrated author Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyaguṇḍe, the author of the *Bālambhaṭṭī*, who is assigned by M. M. Professor P. V. Kane [1] to the period *A. D.* 1730 1820 and to whom Colebrooke had entrusted the compilation of a work called *Dharmaśāstra Saṅgraha* about *A. D.* 1801. On the Benares letter of *A. D.* 1801 to which Kṛṣṇabhatta Ārḍe is a signatory we find the signature of

1 *Vide* p 162 of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I (1930).

" बाळभटजी पायगुडे " who is no other than his namesake in the employ of Colebrooke in *May* 1801 [1]

It is difficult to fix the chronology of the several works of Krsnabhaṭṭa Ārḍe. I have already observed that the India Office Library Ms of the *Kāśikā* of this author is dated *A D.* 1801 He must have written his works on *nyāya* prior to *A. D* 1800 or so In his commentary on Gadādhara's दोषसामान्यलक्षण our author refers to his parents कमला and रङ्गनाथ as residing in heaven (वैकुंठमध्यावसतो कमलारङ्गनाथयो) This statement shows that Krṣnabhaṭṭa composed the commentary in question when his parents were no longer living Possibly his parents died before *A. D* 1800.

P. S—I have assigned नारायण लक्ष्मीधर आरडे to the period *A. D* 1650-1725. This conclusion is corroborated by the following additional evidence—

(1) A *nirṇayapatra A. D* 1657 contains the following endorsement —" संमत नारायणभट्ट आरडे इत्युपनाम्न " (Vide pp 78 81 of चितळेभट्ट प्रकरण by R. S. Pimputkar, Bombay, 1926).

(2) H. P. Shastri [*Notices*, III, 1907, Calcutta] describes a Ms of लक्षहोमकारिका by नारायणभट्ट आर्डे, which is dated *Samvat* 1783 = *A. D.* 1727. We have already pointed out that the B. O. R I. Ms of गृह्याग्निसागर of नारायणभट्ट आर्डे is dated *Śake* 1649 = *A. D.* 1727

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1 P. V Kane *History of Dharma* I, p 461—Kane mentions the following dated Mss of Bālambhaṭṭa's works —

(1) बालभट्टी Ms in Benares Palace Library—*A D 1774-75.*

(2) उपाकृतितत्व Ms described by Stein in his *Catalogue of Jammu* Mss —*A D 1791-92*

I may add the following Mss to the above list —

(3) मिताक्षराव्याख्या (व्यवहारप्रकरण) 407 folios—Samvat *1850=A. D 1794* (*Vide* p. 147 of Poleman's *List of Indic Mss in U S A*, etc , 1938)

4. A Contemporary Manuscript of Bhānuji Dīkṣita's Vyākhyāsudhā *

Dated A. D. 1649

And Identification of his Patron Kīrtisiṃha of the Baghela Dynasty

(Between A. D. 1620 and 1660)

AUFRECHT [1] records several MSS of the commentary of Bhānuji Dīkṣita on the "Amarakośa," called "Vyākhyāsudhā." Some of these are already described in the descriptive Catalogues of MSS so far published. Judging by this description we find in the first instance few MSS with any dates recorded in them. The India Office Library contains two MSS [2] bearing dates A D. 1800 and 1806 while the Bodleian Library, Oxford, contains three MSS, [3] one of which is dated A. D. 1793 while the remaining two are dated about A. D. 1700 and 1800 respectively. [4]

In view of the absence of dated MSS of the "Vyākhyāsudhā" belonging to the 17th century, to the earlier half of which its author is generally assigned, I was interested to find that the MS of this commentary noted by Aufrecht, *viz.*, "Bhr 200" was a contemporary copy of the work. This MS is identical with MS *No 200 of 1882 83* in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It contains the commentary for the 2nd Kāṇḍa of the "Amarakośa" and is well preserved in spite of its age. It ends as follows —

Folio 218b — " इत्यमरसिंहकृतौ नामलिंगानुशासने ॥
द्वितीयोय भूकाड साग एव समर्थित ॥

॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

इति श्रीवघेलवंशोद्भवश्रीमहीधरविषयाधिपश्रीमहाराजकुमारश्रीकीर्तिसिंहदेवाज्ञया श्रीभट्टोजीदीक्षितात्मजश्रीभानुजीदीक्षितविरचितायाममरटीकायां व्याख्यासुधाख्यायां द्वितीय. काड सपूर्णतामगात् ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

* Journal of the University of Bombay. Vol XI, Part II, pp 90-99

1 *CC I*, 26; *II*, 5, *III*, 6

2 *Vide* p. 274 of *I O. MSS Cata*. Part II, 1889-*MS No. 965*, dated Śaka 1722 = A D. 1800, *MS No. 966*, dated samvat 1862 = A. D *1806*.

3 *Vide* pp 118-119 of Vol II of the *Catalogue* by Winternitz and Keith, 1905.

MS No 1102—Probably about A. D *1700*.

MS No. 1103—Samvat 1849 = A. D. *1793*

MS No. 1104—About *1800*

4 *Vide* p 163 of *Cata.* of *British Museum MSS* by Bendall, 1902-MS 290 is dated A.D. *1806*.

संवत् शराभ्राचलचंद्रमाने गणेशचंद्रेऽश्वसजस्य कृष्णे ।

गोपालजीकोऽमरसिंहकांडं व्याख्यासुधायां व्यलिखद्द्वितीय ॥ १ ॥"

The chronogram containing the date of the copy is represented by the words शर, अभ्र, अचल, चन्द्र — Saṃvat 1705 or A D. 1649 If this date is correct we must look upon the MS bearing this date as a contemporary copy of the "Vyākhyāsudhā" of Bhānuji Though this MS contains commentary for only the 2nd Kānda of the "Amarakośa" its value for a critical edition of the "Vyākhyāsudhā" for this Kānda at least should be very great as compared with the late MSS of the commentary The colophon of this contemporary MS is also very important as it confirms similar colophons in the MSS of this commentary of later date It is clear from this colophon that the "Vyākhyāsudhā" was composed by Bhānuji Dīkṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita by order of Kīrtisimhadeva," who was a prince of the Baghela dynasty, ruling over the Mahīdhara territory [1] As the MS is dated A D 1649, Bhānuji must have composed this commentary many years earlier than this date

I shall now try to identify the patron of Bhānuji Dīksita, who belonged to the Baghela dynasty and whose name was Kīrtisiṃha. The colophon of A. D. 1649 quoted above gives the following particulars about Bhānuji's patron —

(1) He was of the Baghela dynasty (वघेलवंशोद्भव)

(2) He was ruler of Mahīdhara territory (महीधरविषयाधिप)

(3) He was a prince (श्रीमहाराजकुमार) of the name कीर्तिसिंह.

I am of opinion that Kīrtisiṃha, the Baghela patron of Bhānuji, is identical with Fateh Singh,[2] the founder of the Sohawal State in Baghel-

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1 Both "कीर्तिसिंहदेव" and "महीधरविषय" need to be identified I have tried to identify "कीर्तिसिंह" in this paper "महीधरविषय" is possibly identical with *Maihar* State now under the Baghel Khanda Political Agency as suggested by my friend Dr R. N Dandekar. *Maihar* was originally a dependency of Rewa but later it went into the possession of the Bundela Raja of Panna (*vide* p. 189 of Vol IX of *Imp Gazet*, London, 886)

2 *Vide* p 47 of *Imp Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIII, London, 1887 —*Sohawal*—The State of Sohawal was formerly a portion of Rewa territory but about the middle of the 16th Century, when *Amarsingh* was ruler of Rewa, his son *Fate Singh* threw off his father's authority and established his independence as Chief of Sohawal. His descendant *Lal Amansingh* was found in possession on the British occupation of Baghel Khanda and was consequently confirmed in his State on his tendering a deed of allegiance. In consequence of the improvidence and misrule of its Chiefs the State has more than once come und r British management. It was last made over in 1871 free of debt to the present Raja of Sohawa, *Lal Sher Jang Bahadur Singh*, who is by race a Baghel Rajput. A small police force is maintained of about 50 men.

khanda in Central India My reasons for the above identification are as follows —

(1) The name "Kīrtisiṃha" mentioned by Bhānuji Dīkṣita is only a paraphrase of the name "Fatesingh."

(2) Bhānuji Dīkṣita[1] may be assigned to a period A. D. 1600 to 1660. His patron Fatesingh was living at this time[2]

(3) It appears that Kīrtisimha or Fatesingh had already founded the Sohawal Kingdom when Bhānuji wrote his commentary as Bhānuji calls his patron "the ruler of Mahīdhara territory" (महीधरविषयाधिप). It is quite probable that "महीधर" is equivalent to "Maihar" and "महीधरविषय" means the "Maihar State" which was the dependency of Rewa and is now under the Baghelakhanda Political Agency as stated in the *Gazetteer*[3] As the town of Maihar is about 40 miles from Rewa, Fatesing may have made it his headquarters, when he threw off his father's authority. His brother Anūpasing was a minor when he came to the gādī of Rewa and ruled between A D. 1640 and 1660. In view of this chronology for his brother's rule at Rewa we may safely assign him to the period A. D 1620 to 1660 or so and make him a junior of Bhānuji

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1 *Vide* my paper on the date of Bhattoji Dīkṣita in the *Annals* (Tirupati Institute) Vol. I, pp. 117-127. As Bhttoji's career ended about A D 1620 we may assign his son Bhānuji to the period A D 1600 to 1660.

2 The genealogy and chronology of the Baghela dynasty corresponding to the dates of Bhattoji and Bhānuji may be given here —

वीरभानु (A D 1540-1555)
|
रामचंद्र (A. D 1555-1592)
|
वीरभद्र (A D. 1592-1593)
|
विक्रमादित्य (A. D 1593-1624)
|
अमरसिंग (A D 1624-1640) | इंद्रसिंग | सरूपसिंग
|
अनूपसिंग (A. D 1640-1660) | फतेसिंग (founder of Sohawal State)

3 Vide p. 159 of Vol IX of *Imp Gaz.*, 1886.—*Maihar* is a station on the Jabalpur extension of the East Indian Railway, 97 miles from Jabalpur and 40 miles from Rewa. The town contains a fort built in the 16th century, where the Raja now resides.

Dīkṣita, who calls him राजकुमार, whose father Amarsing ruled from A. D. 1624 to 1640.[1]

If it is possible to determine when Fatesing or Kīrtisimha became the ruler of the Mahīdhara territory we can easily fix the earlier limit to the date of Bhānuji's Vyākhyāsudhā, the later limit being of course A. D 1649, the date of the MS of the 2nd Kānda of this commentary already described in this paper. As Anūpasing, the brother of Fatesing, ruled between A. D 1640 and 1660 and as he was a minor when he came to the gādī of Rewa in A D 1640, we may not be wrong in assigning Fatesing to the period A D 1620 to 1660 as we have remarked above. It is also possible to suppose that he threw off the authority of his father some years before A D 1640, when obviously he lost his father and the question of succession arose. If these statements, which I have based on the notes sent to me by the late Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad, are correct we may safely suggest that Bhānuji composed his "Vyākhyāsudhā" between A D. 1620 and A. D 1640 In making this suggestion I have presumed that Fatesing, the patron of Bhānuji, was born about A D 1620 and that he was about 20 years old when his father died in A D. 1640 and was succeeded by the minor brother Anūpasing

In the foregoing discussion I have made use of the scanty information in my possession regarding Fatesing Baghel whom I regard as the patron of Bhānuji Dīksita How Bhānuji came into contact with this prince I cannot say at present.

Tavernier visited Benares in A D 1666 He refers in his *Travels*[2] to a college at Benares founded by Raja Jaising (A D 1621–1667) for the education of the youth of good families Is it possible to suppose that Fatesing or Kīrtisiṃha may have had some contact with this college where some of the contemporary Rajput princes got their education at the hands of Brahmin pandits of Benares? As it seems, however, that Fatesing Baghel was a contemporary of Mirza Raja Jaising, he may not have received his education at the above college where the sons of Jaising got their education We have, therefore, to presume that the contact of Bhānuji with Fatesing was independent of the above college like that of

1 The chronology of the Baghela rulers given in this paper is based on the notes supplied to me by my friend the late Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad, M A., LL B., the Advisor to H. H the Maharaja of Rewa He was in constant correspondence with me on many matters of historical interest and I put on record my deep appreciation of his critical insight and indefatigable industry in investigating the history of the Rewa State. Unfortunately he died in 1938

2 *Vide* pp 234–235 of Vol II of these *Travels* (1889) *Vide* also my paper on Viśvanātha M Rānade (p 50 of Vol. 17, 1941, of B. B R A. S Journal)

Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī with the Mughal Court and the Rajput princes who thronged at this court in the 17th century. [1]

I have identified महीधरविषय with the Maihar State and Kīrtisiṃha Baghel with Fatesing Baghel, whom the *Gazetteer* calls the founder of the Sohawal State As both the Maihar and Sohawal States are near [2] each other in the Baghel Khanda agency it is possible to suppose that महीधरविषय comprised area belonging to both these states, when Fatesing became the ruler of this area and perhaps made महीधर or Maihar as his headquarters. I await more light on this question from close students of the history of Baghel Khanda, who may be able to settle the exact limits of the महीधरविषय over which Fatesing ruled after throwing off his father's authority sometime before A. D 1640 At present I have no detailed knowledge of the history of the Maihar or Sohawal States subsequent to the rule of Fatesing or even before it and hence cannot say anything in this matter with certainty.

Curious views [3] have been current regarding the caste of Brahmins to which Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita belonged. Some say he was a Deśastha Brahmin, while others say that he was a Sārasvata Brahmin. According to the generally accepted view he was a Telaṅga Brahmin. In view of these opinions I was surprised to find in the colophon [4] of a MS of the Vyākhyāsudhā the statement that it was composed by Rāmāśrama, (1) the pupil of Bhattoji Dīkṣita and (2) of Gurjara caste. This statement adds one more caste to the list of castes, to which Bhaṭṭoji's family is supposed to have belonged. I shall deal in a separate paper with the validity of the tradition that Rāmāśrama was the name of Bhānuji Dīkṣita after he became a sanyāsin. The colophon of the Tanjore MS which refers to the Gurjara

1 *Vide* my paper on "Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at the Mughal Court" (pp. 1--16 of *Annals* of Tirupati S. V Ori Institute, Vol I, Part IV) The poet Jayarāma in his राधामाधवविलासचपू (Poona, 1922), composed about A D 1658, refers to a "बघेलनृपते कवीश्वर" at the court of King Shahaji, father of Shivaji the Great.

2 The latitude and longitude of *Sohawal* and *Maihar* as recorded in the *Imp Gazetteer* are as follows —

(1) *Maihar* — Lat 24°16' N, Long. 80°48' E.

(2) *Sohawal* — Lat. 24°31'35" N, Long 80°48'50' E

3 *Vide* Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita Jñātiviveka by Rao Bahadur W. A. Bambardekar Bombay, 1939.

4 *Vide* p 3821 of Vol IX of *Des Cata of Tanjore MSS* (1930) — MS No. 1943 —

"इति श्री बघेलवंशोद्भव — महीधरविषयाधिपश्रीकीर्तिसिंहदेवाज्ञया श्रीभट्टोजिदीक्षितशिष्य-गुर्जरजातीयरामाश्रमविरचितायाममरटीकाया व्याख्यासुधाख्याया प्रथमकाण्डसमाप्त"

"सरसंवत्सरवैशाख[illegible]कृष्णद्वितीया भानुवासरे लिखितमिदं पुस्तक"

caste of Rāmāśrama has not much historical value as it is contradicted by the colophon of A. D. 1649 which neither refers to Rāmāśrama nor to his Gurjara caste as will be clear from this colophon already quoted elsewhere in this paper.

Presuming that Bhānuji Dīkṣita and Rāmāśrama[1] are identical we may infer that Vatsarāja, a pupil of Rāmāśrama, in the following verse of his "Vārānasīdarpanaṭīkā" composed in Saṃvat 1698 (A. D. 1641) refers to Bhānuji Dīksita after he became a sanyāsin —

"भट्टोजिदीक्षित नत्वा रामाश्रमगुरु पुन ।
वत्सराज करोत्येतां काशीदर्पणकाशिकाम् ॥"

Bhānuji Dīkṣita may have become a sanyāsin before A. D 1641 It is also possible to surmise that he composed the "Vyākhyāsudhā" before he became a sanyāsin.

I have already referred in this paper to the importance of the MS of A. D 1649, *viz*, No 200 of 1882-83 for purposes of textual criticism This importance will be better understood by a test comparison of the text of the "Vyākhyāsudhā" as represented by the printed edition and that found in the MS of A. D 1649 The inflated character of the text in the printed edition is apparent from the Appendix to this paper prepared by Mr. M. M Patkar.

The authentic life-history of the scholars who flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries is difficult to reconstruct on the strength of contemporary evidence I have tried in this paper to collect and discuss some useful data regarding Bhānuji Dīksita and his patron, which I hope will attract the attention of senior scholars, from whom I expect to get some more information on the subject than what I have gathered in this short paper.

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1 *Vide* p 177 of *Des Cata. of Kāvya MSS*, Vol, VII, by H. P Shastri (R. A. S., Bengal), Caloutta, 1934. The genealogy of वत्सराज as given by him on folio 10A of the MS of दर्पणप्रकाशिका is as follows —

गणेश अग्निहोत्रि of surname त्रिपाठिन्
|
राघव (त्रिपाठिन्)
|
वत्सराज (A. D. 1641)

APPENDIX

(By Dr. M. M. Patkar, B. A. PH. D.)

(This appendix gives a specimen of the variants in the text of th *Vyākhyāsudhā* of Bhānuji Dīkṣita as represented by the printed editio and the MS of A D. 1649).

Printed Edition Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1929, 2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)			*MS No 200 of 1882-83 dated Samvat 1705--A D 1649 2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)*		
PAGE	VERSE	READING	FOLIO	VERSE	READING
110	1	उक्ता	1b	1	उदिता
,,	,,	omitted कर्तरि च	,,	,,	कर्तरि च
,,	,,	पृथिव्यादिभिः	,,	,,	पुरादिभिः
,,	,,	शिलादीनि मनः शिलादीनि । वृक्षादीनि पुष्पादीनि			The Ms omits this portion
110	2	क्षितौ	,,	2	स्थितौ
,,	,,	इति वा	,,	,,	वा
,,	,,	अनवधौ	,,	,,	निरवधौ
,,	,,	गुडूच्यो.	2a	,,	गडूच्योः
,,	,,	अच् वा घञर्थे को वा इति मुकुट. । तन्न । परिगणनात् । अच सत्वाच्च	,,	,,	omitted अच् वा etc.
,,	,,	यद्वा ध्रियते । धृङ् अवस्थाने पचाद्यच्	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	तूलेऽस्य	,,	,,	मूलेऽस्य
,,	,,	मेदो	,,	,,	भेदे
,,	,,	निपातित॰	,,	,,	निपात.
111	,,	इति मेदिनी	,,	,,	इति विश्वः
,,	,,	यत्तु—क्षियन्त्यत्र—इति मुकुटः । तन्न अव्जभ्याम् इति ल्युटा बाधात् ।	,,	,,	omitted
,,	3	नु लोप.	2b	3	न लोपो
,,	,,	omitted	,,	,,	वो तो गुणेति ङीपि पृथ्वं
,,	,,	इति उप्रत्यये सप्रसारणे 'वो तो गुण' इति ङीपिपृथ्वी	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	इत्यच् । यत्तु-पृषोदरादित्वात् अल्लोप । बाहुलकान्मन् टिलोपश्च । इति मुकुट. । तन्न उक्तरीत्या निर्वाहात् ।	,,	,,	omitted

Printed Edition Nirnayasāgar Press, Bombay 1929, 2nd Kānda (Bhūmivarga)			Ms No 200 of 1882–83 dated Samvat 1705—A.D. 1649 2nd Kānda (Bhūmivarga)		
PAGE	VERSE	READING	FOLIO	VERSE	READING
111	3	यत्तु-मह्यन्ते भूतान्यस्याम्, मह्यते, वा 'पुंसि' इति घ । गौरादिङीष् इति मुकुटः । तन्न । 'हलश्च' इति घञ् प्रसंगात् । कर्मणि घस्याप्रसंगाच्च । 'करणाधिकरणयो ' अनुवर्तनात्	2b	3 omitted	
,,	,,	इति कश्चित् । तन्न ' कारग्रहणाच्च ' इत्युक्तत्वात् ।	,,	,, omitted	
111-12	5	यत्तु-स्थल्यतेत्र । ' घञर्थे क '- इति मुकुटः । तन्न । परिगणनात्	,,	,, omitted	
112	2	अथो	3a	6	त्रिष्वथो
,,	,,	निपातितः	3b	,,	निपात
				After इतिङीप् the Ms inserts the following verse जगत्या-द्विष्टपे क्लीब etc which is found in the printed edition after ' यङ् विधानाश्च '	
,,	,,	वृद्धिक्षयो	,,	,,	वृद्धिक्षयौ
113	6	'एकं महाभूत पृथ्वी, पञ्चमहाभूतेन्द्रियविषयात्मक तु जगत्' इति पृथ्वी जगतोर्भेदः	,,	,, omitted	
113	8	पचाद्यच् । दिश्यते वा । घञ् ।	,,	,, omitted	
,,	,,	इति मुकुट । तन्न । घञो ल्युडपवादत्वात् अत.–' अन्यत्रापि इति युन्	,,	,, omitted	
,,	,,	adds ग्रामसमुदाय लक्षणस्य before स्थानमात्रस्य			
,,	,,	adds आगोष्ठात् before गोष्टशब्दमभिव्याप्य			
,,	10	त्रिषु इत्यस्य बाधनार्थं पुंसि इति ।	,,	,,	omitted
114	11	चत्वारि 'अश्मप्रायमृदाधिकस्य वालुकायुक्तेशस्य,	,,	,,	omitted

Printed Edition Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1929 2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)			Ms No. 200 of 1882-83 dated Saṃvat 1705 = A. D 1649 (2nd Kāṇḍa Bhūmivarga)		
PAGE	VERSE	READING	FOLIO	VERSE	READING
114	11	सिकताशर्करा	5a	11	The Ms trans. सिकता and शर्करा
		,,	,,	,,	Adds अश्मप्रायमृदधिकस्य before चत्वारिवालुकाबहुलदेशस्य
,,	12	नद्यम्बुभिर्वृष्ट्यम्बुभिः संपन्नदेशस्य	,,	,,	omitted
,,	13	सामान्यराजयुक्तदेशस्य	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	गावस्तिष्ठन्ति यत्र			गावस्तिष्ठन्त्यत्र
,,	,,	गोष्ठं गोस्थानके, गोष्ठी सभासंलापयो स्त्रियाम्	,,	13	Adds this after स्वार्थे:
,,	,,	भूतपूर्वगोष्ठस्य			omitted
,,	14	सरन्त्यत्र	,,	14	सन्त्यत्र
,,	,,	अलत्यम्भ	,,	,,	अलन्त्यम्भः
,,	,,	Adds पिपीलिकादि निष्कासितमृत्पुञ्जस्य after त्रीणी			
,,	15	मुकुटः। तन्न। घञो ल्युडपवादत्वात्। आतो युच् कर्मणि वा	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	वर्ततेऽत्र	5b	15	omitted
115	,,	इति मुकुट। तन्न 'अजब्भ्याम्।' इति ल्युट् प्रसंगात्। करणस्यापि कर्तृत्वविवक्षायां क्विच्। क्वौच' इति 'क्विच्'	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	तर्कुपिण्डे	6a	,,	तर्कपिण्डे
,,	,,	omitted	,,	,,	स्वप्नाच्चेति
,,	,,	मार्गस्य	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	omitted	,,	,,	adds राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् after तत्पुरुषः and omits ऋक्पूरब्धूः
,,	16	मुकुटः। तन्न। इति क्लीबताप्रसङ्गात्। अत 'विरुद्धः पथः' इति विग्रहीतव्यम्	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	कदेशः। कुमार्गोऽप्यपन्मार्गो भवति। कुत्सित पथः। 'वाटः पथश्च मार्गश्च' इति	,,	,,	omitted

Printed Edition *Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1929* *2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)*			*Ms No 200 of 1882-83* *dated Samvat 1705 = A. D. 1649* *2nd Kāṇḍa (Bhūmivarga)*		
PAGE	VERSE	READING	FOLIO	VERSE	READING
115	16	दूर्मार्गम्य	6a	15	omitted
,,	17	कान्तारं	,,	17	कान्तारो
,,	,,	चतुष्पथस्य	,,	,,	चत्वरस्य
,,	,,	दूरशून्यच्छायाजलादिवर्जितमार्गस्य	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	एकम् ' चोराद्युपद्रवैर्दुर्गममार्गस्य '			
116	18	क्रोशद्वयपरिमितस्य	6b	18	omitted
,,	,,	' चतु शतहस्तपरिमितस्य '	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	इति मुकुट. । तन्न । यस्यलुडपवादस्वात् । वाहुलकाद्वा ल्युट् । युच् तु युक्त.	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	इति मुकुट । तन्न । अपोवाधकस्य ल्युटोऽपि 'पुंसि' इति घस्यापवादत्वाध्	,,	,,	omitted
,,	,,	एकं ' पुरमार्गस्य '	,,	,,	omitted

5. Kavikaustubha, an unknown Work On Poetics by Raghunātha Manohara And its Chronology — Between A. D 1675 And 1700 *

Aufrecht mentions no work of the title कविकौस्तुभ. Dr. S. K. De's *History of Sanskrit Poetics* also contains no mention of any work of this title. Recently I came across a Ms of this work through the favour of Vaidya Śivarāma Raghunātha Khāndekar of Nasik. He was under the impression that this work was composed by his grand-father Rāghava Kavi [1] or Raghunātha Āppā Khāndekar of Puṇyastambha or Puṇtāmbe in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay Presidency. On examination I find that the Ms of कविकौस्तुभ is not a work of Rāghava Kavi but that it belonged to him as I find from the endorsement towards the end of the Ms. [2]

As this work on rhetorics is unknown to Sanskritists I shall describe the present Ms and determine the chronology of its author *Raghunātha Manohara*. The Ms begins :—

> " ॥ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥
> अथ काव्यप्रबधानां शल्यरूपान्समासतः ।
> दोषान्वक्ष्ये क्रमेणैव पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रदर्शितान् ॥ १ ॥
> छंदोभ्रष्ट क्रियान्यस्तं क्रमहीनमसंमितं ।
> अपार्थं व्यस्तसबंध क्लिष्टागमविरोधि च ॥ २ ॥
> यतिभ्रष्टं तथा न्यूनपदं चैकार्थमेव च ।
> व्यर्थं रीतिभ्रष्टमवस्थाद्गन्यभेदकम् ॥ ३ ॥

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* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VII, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 157–164

1 I am preparing a special paper on the unknown works of Rāghava Kavi who flourished between A.D 1758 and 1820 or so

2 This MS contains 23 folios and is written on country paper It is well preserved and appears to be about 150 years old. It contains the following post-colophon endorsement —

> " पुस्तकमिदं खाण्डेकरोपनामक आपाजीपतात्मज
> रघुनाथनाम्नः सत्यं श्रीमत्पुण्यस्तम्भक्षेत्रे लिखापितम् ॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ ." Many works of Rāghava were composed and written at पुण्यस्तम्भक्षेत्र or Puṇtāmbe

तथा देशकलान्यायकालहेतुविरोधिक ।
खण्डिताधिपदे चैव तथा हीनोपमस्मृतम् ॥ ४ ॥
इति वाक्यात्मका दोषा पददोषास्तत क्रमात् ।
स्वसकेतप्रकृत्यार्थमप्रसिद्धमलक्षणम् ॥ ५ ॥
अगौरवं श्रुतिकटुपुनरुक्तिरसंमतं ।
व्याहतार्थं तथा ग्राम्यं पददोषा. स्मृता तथा ॥ ६ ॥ "

The Ms ends — (folio 25b)

" रघुनाथमुखारविन्दतो विगलपद्यलसन्मणिस्रजा ।
इति तद्रचयन्तु सुन्दरं किल कण्ठाभरणं विपश्चित ॥ १०७ ॥
इति श्रीकविकौस्तुभे महाकाव्यकविकुलावतसमनोहरोपनामककृष्णपण्डितसूनुश्रीमद्भिक-भट्टसूरिसुतश्रीमद्रघुनाथपंडितकविकृतौ दूषणकथनं नाम द्वितीयं रत्नम् ॥ "

This colophon gives us the following genealogy of the author Ragunātha Manohara —

(c. A. D. 1600) कृष्णपडित of the surname मनोहर
|
Son
(c A. D. 1650) भिकभट्ट
|
Son
(A D. 1697) रघुनाथपडित the author of the कविकौस्तुभ

I am inclined to identify this रघुनाथ मनोहर with रघुनाथ मनोहर, the author of वैद्यविलास, a work on Medicine represented by several Mss[1] in our libraries. References to earlier works and authors mentioned by Raghunātha Manohara in his कविकौस्तुभ are —

1 Vide Aufrecht, CC I, 618, II, 146 — *I O Cata* No 2695 and *B B R., A. S Cata* by H. D. Velankar, Nos. 206 and 207. There are two Mss of वैद्यविलास at the Govt Mss Library (B O R Institute, Poona) *No. 600 of 1899–1915* and *No 639 of 1895–1902* They are described by Dr. H D. Sharma on pp 363-364 of his *Des Cata. of Vaidyaka Mss* (Vol XVI, Part I), 1939 MS *No 600 of 1899–1915* is dated Śaka 1736 = A D 1814 It belonged to one दिनकर ज्योतिष (Dinkar Joshi) In some colophons the author is called " कविकुलावतस रघुनाथपडित " (See fol 9b) In the Ms of कविकौस्तुभ also he is called " कविकुलावतंस रघुनाथपडित " The author refers to himself as " कविराघव " in verse 2 at the commencement —

" सदुक्तिभाजां कविराघवेण वितन्यते वैद्यविलास एष " The work is styled as " महाकाव्य".
No. 639 of 1895–1902 is a very modern copy without date

In the Gotrāvali of Konkanastha or Chitpāvana Brahmins we find the surname मनोहर The Gotra of the मनोहर family is भारद्वाज (हिरण्यकेशी). The MS of the वैद्यविलास described in the *India Office Catalogue* mentions मनोहर as the surname of its author रघुनाथपडित

(1) धावुककवे । काव्यशेखरे—fol 2.

(2) " मद्विरचितछन्दोरत्नावल्याम् "—fol. 2, 8,

" यदि द्वितीयं च चतुर्थपञ्चमं...गीता ॥ १० ॥ "

(3) सुश्रुते—fol. 2.

(4) रघुवंशे—fol. 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17, 22, 23

(5) मुहुर्तचिन्तामणौ—fol. 3.

This work was composed in Śaka 1522 = A. D. 1600 by राम, son of अनंत and पद्मा (Vide pp 275, 278 of S. B. Dikshit: *History of Indian Astronomy*, 1896.

(6) किरातार्जुनीये—fol. 3, 7, 16, 19, 21, 25.

(7) मम्मट—fol 3, 6, 18.

(8) माघ—fol. 3, 10, 19.

(9) रत्नमालायाम्—fol. 4.

(10) रसमञ्जर्याम्—fol 4, 13, 21

(11) नैषधे—fol. 5, 24.

(12) " चन्द्रशेखरस्य काव्यकुतूहले "—fol. 5.

(13) " भवभूते. साहित्यरत्नाकरे " —fol. 6, 23.

(14) सङ्गीतरत्नाकरे—fol. 7.

(15) भर्तृहरौ—fol 7.

(16) " कविमण्डनस्य ऋतुपञ्चाशिकायाम् "—fol. 8.

" गुञ्जन्तः किल मुकुलेषु मत्तभृङ्गाः
सयाते स्मरनृपतौ सितेषु रेजुः ।
भेरीणा प्रसवितपाटले निदाघे
कुर्वन्तो जयनिनदानिव प्रहृष्टा ॥ "

(17) " मयूरकवे. काव्यमण्डने "—fol. 10.

" सर्पि शत्रुयशो हवीरिपुगणाः...त्वया तर्पिताः ॥ ६५ ॥ "

(18) कुमारसम्भवे—fol. 10, 21.

(19) " मदनकवे. शृङ्गारकौमुद्याम् "—fol. 11.

" कुचकोरकगुप्तिसोदरा नववोढा न पतिं तिरश्चकार ।
भयमीलितलोचना भृशं करपट्टेरुहबद्ध.... ॥ "

(20) " वराहमिहिरस्य शृङ्गारतरंगिण्याम् " [1] —fol. 12.

" पीयूष पपुरुपले च चन्द्रकान्ते
निक्षिप्तं विधुकिरणैर्भृशं चकोराः ।

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1 Vide p. 272 of *History of Indian Astronomy*, by S B. Dikshit शृंगारतरंगिणी is a comm. on अमरुशतक by सूर्यसूरि or सूर्यदास (Born Śaka 1430 = A. D 1508)—Vide Aufrecht. I, 660.

प्रेरणा ते चपलतया च पात्रकल्पे
घर्मांशोस्तरुणकरैर्घनीकृतं च ॥ ५५ ॥ "

(21) " धनंजयस्य कामप्रदीपे "—fol. 12.
" घनतरनवविन्ध्यकाननाली
कुसुममरुद्गति खिन्नरीणां ।
श्रममहरदयन्विलासिनीनां
सुललितचन्दनवपल्लवेषु भिन्न ॥ ५८ ॥ "
Vide *CC I*,93--कामप्रदीप alam B. 3-46 (of गुणाकर).

(22) प्रबोधचन्द्रोदये--fol. 22

(23) हेमाद्रौ

(24) " धनञ्जयकवे शृङ्गारमञ्जर्याम् "—fol. 14
" ललिततरनिकुञ्जके किनादो .. मानिनीना ॥ ६१ ॥ "
(Vide CC I,661 शृङ्गारमञ्जरी by king Shahaji and a work of this name on अलङ्कार etc.).

(25) " चिन्तामणिव्याख्यायां शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्यै "—fol. 18.
" चिंतामणौ--दीधितिव्याख्यां "— (About 1500 A. D).

(26) सारङ्ग्याम्--fol. 19.
" सुरासुरैर्वन्दितपादपद्म .. ... देवगुरुं शिव च ॥ ८० ॥ "

(27) " कङ्कणकवे भावपञ्चाशिकायाम् "—fol. 20
" सिन्धुसूनुपतेर्मित्रं . .. भाति ते कीर्तिमण्डलम् ॥ १ ॥ "
(Vide CC III, 88 -- भावपञ्चाशिका Kāvya by Kavi Vrnda).

(28) " कुटुम्बकवे प्रस्तावबन्धे "--fol 20
" दधाति चन्द्रः किरणैश्चकोरान् प्रकृतिर्हिताय ॥ ८५ ॥ "

(29) " लल्लमुहूर्तसार "--fol. 23.

(30) कुवलयानन्दे fol 24—" उपमा यत्र सादृश्य ..अवगाहते "
Appaya Dīkṣita composed the कुवलयानन्द. The life-period of Appaya is A. D. 1554–1626 (72 years) according to his descendants while others assign Appaya to the period A. D 1520–1593 (Vide p. 341 of भट्टोजी-दीक्षित-ज्ञातिविवेक in Marathi by Rao Bahadur W. A. Bambardekar, Bombay, 1939).

It will be seen from the above references that the latest works mentioned by the author of the कविकौस्तुभ are (1) मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि of A. D. 1600 and (2) कुवलयानद of Appaya Dīkṣita (A. D. 1550–1600 or so). We must, therefore, conclude that he flourished after about A. D. 1650. As our author seems to be identical with his name-sake कविकुलावतंस रघुनाथपडित

मनोहर, author of the वैद्यविलास composed in A. D. 1697, the date of कविकौस्तुभ may be between say A. D 1675 and 1700 or so.

So far only one work of this author, viz वैद्यविलास on *medicine* was known. The present account of the कविकौस्तुभ proves conclusively that he composed this work on *poetics* as well. We have seen above that in this work he refers to and quotes from a work on *prosody* called the छन्दोरत्नावली composed by him " मद्विरचितछन्दोरत्नावल्याम् " in two places. As no such work has been discovered so far I quote below the verses from this work as quoted by रघुनाथ मनोहर —

Folio 2a — " अत्र छन्दसि मद्विरचितछन्दोरत्नावल्याम् ॥

यदि द्वितीय च चतुर्थपञ्चमं
तथाष्टम तद्दशमं भवेद्गुरु ।
यदाक्षर द्वादशकं महीपते
गिरन्ति वशस्थमनल्पधीषणा ॥
यदा द्वितीय च तथा चतुर्थं
सखे भवेस्य चमकं च दीर्घं ।
तथाष्टम वा दशमं तथान्त्यम्
उपेन्द्रवज्रारव्यु(?)पुना गीता ॥ "

Folio 3a : — " अत्र प्रथमचतुर्थचरणयोर्यतिभङ्गे । छन्दोरत्नावल्याम्

सखे यदि च षष्टक तदनुचाष्टकं द्वादशं
द्वितीयमपि यत्र वा गुरु च षोडशाद्यान्त्यगौ ।
चतुर्दशमथ क्रमात्सकलभाग्यवारांनिधे
श्रुतिद्वयसरीसृपैर्विरतिरङ्ग पृथ्वी मता ॥ "

It is clear from the above three verses quoted by our author that he composed this छन्दोरत्नावलि earlier than his composition of the कविकौस्तुभ. Perhaps a Ms of Raghunātha's छन्दोरत्नावलि may be discovered hereafter. The present paper has added two more works to the only work वैद्यविलास of Raghunātha, known to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature. It has also given us the names of his father भिकंभट and his grandfather कृष्णपंडित not found in the Mss of the वैद्यविलास as we find them described in our catalogues [1] of Sanskrit Mss. The genealogy of रघुनाथ मनोहर thus goes back to about A. D. 1600.

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1 *B. B R. A. S. Mss Catalogue* by H. D. Velankar, Vol. I, 1925, describes 2 Mss of the Vaidyavilāsa. He describes the work as follows on p. 70 · —

" A popular treatise on medicine in 10 chapters (tarangas) composed in *1697* A. D. by Raghunāthapandita of the *Manohara* family and a resident of चंपावती (भागलपूर). For another Ms of the work having only 6 chapters Cf I O No. 2697. See also *Ulwar Cata*, p. 72."

(Continued on the next page)

As regards the native place of Raghunātha we learn from the India Office Ms of the वैद्यविलास that it was चपावती which has been wrongly identified with Bhagalpur by Dr. Eggeling [1] in his description of this Ms As the author was a Deccani Brahmin his residence must have been somewhere in the Deccan. This suggestion gets confirmation from the identification of चंपावती with Chaul as we find it in the following verse in the *Śivabhārata* of Kavīndra Paramānanda composed for Shivaji before A. D. 1674 —

Chap. XXVIII, 59 — Here the Mogul General Shaista Khān orders another Muslim Sardar to conquer चंपावती —

" चपावत्यथ कल्याणपुरं भीमपुरी तथा ।
पणवल्ली पुनर्नागस्थानं कार्यं त्वयात्मसात् ॥ ५९ ॥ " [2]

Apart from the usage of the name चपावती for *Chaul* as found in a poem of the latter part of the 17th century, when Raghunātha Manohara

(Continued from the last page)

The Ms ends — " इति द्रव्यप्रमाणम् ।
ग्रहेन्दुरसचन्द्रे च शाके मासि च कार्तिके ।
अय वैद्यविलासश्च चरितो वृषवत्सरे ॥ ५२ ॥
.. ..
मनोहरकुलाम्बोधे रघुनाथविधोर्भुव ।
वागस्त्रैमें रसज्ञानां हृत्पद्मं विकसत्विह ॥ ५४ ॥
चम्पावतीपुरनिवासवतादरेण
संदर्भितश्च रघुनाथकवीश्वरेण ।
मोदाय वैद्यविदुषां गदखण्डनाय
मान्य सता जयति वैद्यविलास एष ॥ ५५ ॥
इति श्रीवैद्यविलासमहाकाव्ये कविकुलावतसरघुनाथपंडितकृतौ दशमस्तरग. ॥१०॥ "

1 Vide p. 949 of *I O Mss Cata* Pt. VII (1896)—Ms No. 2695
"Vaidyavilāsa.. by Raghunātha (or Rāghava) Pandita Kavīśvara of the *Manohara Kula* a resident of चपावतीपुर (Bhāgalpur)" Mr Nandalal Dey on p 228 of his *Geographical Dictionary* refers to Chaul as follows —

"Chaul — चपावती, 25 miles South of Bombay, it is the Semylla of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*"

(See also p 46, ibid and DaCunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*, pp 3–11)

2 चपावती=चौल, कल्याणपुर=कल्याण, भीमपुरी=भिवडी, पणवल्ली=पनवेल, नागस्थान=नागोठणें.
Shaista Khān gave the above order during his camp at Poona (पुण्यपुरस्थित शास्ताखान.).

lived at this place we may note here the fact that *Chaul* or *Revdaṇḍā* (in the Alibagh Sub-divison of the Kolābā District of the Bombay Presidency) is a place of great antiquity. "Under the names of चंपावती and रेवतीक्षेत्र local Hindu traditions trace it to the times when Krishna reigned in Gujarat." [1]

We may now sum up the facts so far brought forth regarding the life-history and literary activity of रघुनाथ as follows :—

(1) Raghunātha Manohara composed the following works —

(1) वैद्यविलास on Medicine composed in A D 1697.

(2) छन्दोरत्नावलि a work on prosody mentioned and quoted in the कविकौस्तुभ — No MS discovered so for.

(3) कविकौस्तुभ on Poetics represented by only one Ms in the possession of Vaidya S. A. Khandekar of Nasik. This Ms belonged to Rāghava Āpā Khandekar (A.D 1758–1825)

(2) The genealogy of Raghunātha as recorded by him in his कविकौस्तुभ is as follows —

कृष्णपंडित — son भिकंभट — son रघुनाथ
(c. 1600 A D)—(c. 1650 A.D.)—(A D. 1697).

(3) The native place of Raghunātha Manohara was चम्पावती which appears to be identical with *Chaul* about 25 miles south of Bombay.

(4) In his कविकौस्तुभ Raghunātha mentions and quotes from the following works which are not recorded in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* —

(i) काव्यशेखर

(ii) His own छन्दोरत्नावलि.

(iii) काव्यकुतूहल.

(iv) ऋतुपञ्चाशिका

(v) काव्यमण्डन.

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[1] Vide p. 376 *Imperial Gazetteer* Vol. III, (1885). From the History of *Chaul* recorded here we learn that Chaul was known to Ptolemy (A D *150*), to the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (A D *247*) and to Hiuen Thsang (A D *642*) The Arab travellers of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries also refer to it. The subsequent travellers to refer to Chaul are .—(1) *Nikitin* (A D *1470*). *Jean Hugues* (A D *1583*). In 1505 A D the Portuguese first appeared at Chaul.

(vi) शृङ्गारकौमुदी.

(vii) सारङ्गी.

(viii) प्रस्तावबंध.

(ix) भावपञ्चाशिका [1]

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1 The work भावपञ्चाशिका mentioned by Raghunātha appears to have been in Sanskrit Kavi Vṛnda's भावपञ्चाशिका mentioned by Aufrecht (*CC III*, 88) appears to be a Hindi work Vide B O R. Institute No *361 of 1892–95* — "इति श्रीकवीवृंदविरचीता भावपचासिका सपूर्णा." The Ms records two dates, viz. (1) सवत् १७४३ (A. D = 1687) and (2) संवत् १९४७ which is not obviously Vikrama Samvat. The first date may represent the date of composition while the second represents the date of the copy.

6. Karpūrīya Śivadatta and his Medical Treatises — Between A D. 1625 and 1700 *

Aufrecht records the following manuscripts of *Śivakośa* by Śivadatta ith his own commentary.—

CC, I, 647 — " शिवकोश lexicon by Śivadatta Oxf. 195a. " [1]

CC, II, 154—" शिवकोश lexicon by Śivadatta Comm.–Śivaprakāśa by ne same, Stein 54." [2]

Both the MSS of the *Śivakośa* and its commentary *Śivaprakāśa* nentioned by Aufrecht are inaccessible to me for study and analysis. Subsequent to the publication of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* the B. O. R. Institute published a list [3] of MSS added to the Government MSS Library. In this list we find a complete MS of the *Śivakośa* with the *Śivaprakāśa*, viz *No 616 of 1895–1902*. As the lexicon was composed in A. D. 1677 and as it is a compilation based on many early lexicons and other works it is worthwhile recording a complete list of the works and authors mentioned in it especially because no such list has been given either by Aufrecht or Stein. Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā also refers to this lexicon casually in his survey [4] of lexicons. Aufrecht [5] mentions संज्ञासमुच्चय as the work of Śivadatta and records only one MS of it, viz. " L. 1481. " This MS has been described by Rajendralal Mitra in his *Notices of*

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* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VII, Parts 1 and 2, pp 66–70.

1 Vide p 195 of Aufrecht's Catalogue of MSS in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1864. Aufrecht has pointed out the date of the lexicon viz. Śaka 1599 (= A D 1677) represented by the chronogram " नवग्रहतिथि " at the end of the work

2 Vide p 54 of *Catalogue of Jammu MSS* (1894).

MS No 338 — शिवकोशव्याख्या शिवप्रकाश. by शिवदत्त कर्पूरीय चतुर्भुजात्मज — dated Samvat 1880 (= 1824), complete. The text and commentary are by the same author — Date of composition Śaka 1599 (A. D 1677).

The B. O R. I MS *No 616 of 1895-1902* has the following colophons —

Text — " इति कर्पूरीय शिवदत्तकृतः शिवकोश पूर्ण.. "

Comm.— " इति श्रीकर्पूरीय चतुर्भुजात्मज मिश्रशिवदत्तकृत· शिवप्रकाशः पूर्णः. "

3 Vide p 23 of *Lists of MSS* (B. O R. I.) Poona, 1925

4 Vide p. I intro. to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. 1, Baroda, 1928 — The *Śivakośa* of Śivadatta composed in 1677 is homonymous and has a commentary called Śivaprakāśa "

5. *CC, I* 637 — " संज्ञासमुच्चय med. by Śivadattamiśra, L. 1481. "

Sanskrit MSS.[1] It was copied in A D. *1719* and is perhaps the oldest dated MS of Śivadatta's works. At any rate it is removed in point of time by about 42 years from the *Śivakośa* and its commentary Śivadatta[2] was a physician trained under his own father Caturbhuja and other eminent and learned physicians of his time as stated by him in verse 2 at the close of his संज्ञासमुच्चय

Works and authors mentioned by Śivadatta in his *own commentary on the Śivakośa* (MS No 616 of 1895–1902) are —

1. वाग्भट, fol. 1
2. शब्दार्णव, fol. 2
3. मेदिनी, fol 3
4. विश्व, fol. 3
5. धन्वतरी, fol 3
6. भावमिश्र, fol. 3 (c A D 1550)
7. राजनिघंटु, fol 4
8. कैयदेव, fol 4 [Vide my paper in *Annals* B O R. Institute, XIX, 188–190]
9. अभिधानचूडामणि, fol. 4
10. अमर, fol. 4
11. हृदयदीपक, fol. 4
12. निघंटु, fol. 5, निर्घंटु (5)
13. डल्हण, fol 5
14. वाचस्पति, fol 5, 6
15. हैम, fol. 6
16. वाप्पचंद्र., fol 6
17. मदनविनोद, fol. 7
18. त्रिकाडशेष fol. 8
19. बोपदेव fol. 8
20. देवल, fol 9
21. सिंह., fol. 10
22. हलायुध, fol. 10
23. द्विरूपकोष, fol. 10
24. मेघदूत, fol 11
25. विश्वलोचन, fol 11, (Vide my paper in the *Karnātak Historical Review*, III, 15–20).
26. वाग्भट्टाचार्य fol, 11
27. तारपाल, fol 12
28. लोचन, fol 12, (See No 25 above)
29. गुणरत्नमाला, fol. 13
30. सिद्धमन्त्रप्रकाश, fol 14
31. वैद्यवल्लभ, fol 14, 62
32. रत्नकोष, fol. 15
33. रुद्र, fol 15
34. रभस, fol 15
35. बाणभट्ट, fol 15

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1 Vide p 79, of Vol. IV of *Notices* — MS No. 1481 Dated Śaka 1641 = (A D 1719) — A treatise on Nosology, Therapeutics and Materia Medica By Śivadatta Miśra.

End — " सज्ञासमुच्चयममु लघुवाग्भटादि-
प्रथप्रकाशनपर विषमस्थलेषु ।
तातादधीत विधिवद्वरवैद्यविद्य
चक्रे चतुर्भुजसुत शिवदत्तमिश्र ॥ २ ॥"

2 Vide Aufrecht, CC, *II*, 60 — नलोदयटीका by शिवदत्त Peters 5 851 = *MS No 351 1892-95*. This शिवदत्त calls himself " भगवन्मिश्रतनूज."

36. दमयन्तीकाव्य, fol. 15
37 अमरचद्र, fol. 16
38 रसरत्नसमुच्चये वाग्भटाचार्य, fol. 16
39. शाश्वत, fol 20
40. लोलिंवराज, fol 21, (Vide my paper in *Indian Culture*, VII, Nos. 3–4)
41. धर्म्मदास, fol. 22
42 माधव, fol. 22
43 नाममाला, fol. 24
44 केशव, fol. 25
45 नान्यदेव fol. 25
46 अमरमाला, fol. 32
47 वोपालित, fol 32
48 धम्मिष्ट, fol 33
49. आश्चर्यमजरी, fol. 33
50 धरणि, fol 34
51. राम, fol. 35
52. भारवि, fol. 35
53 हेमचद्र, fol. 36
54 सुभूति, fol 37, [Vide my paper in *Annals* (B. O. R Institute) XVI, 313—314 and Prof. *Kuppuswami Sastri Volume*, 41–51]
55 हारावलि, fol. 39
56 अजय, fol. 41
57 पुरुषोत्तम, fol. 41
58. मुकुट, fol. 44, 68
59 रामाश्रमा· fol. 45, 57, 59, 83, 91, 93, 96
60 माघ, fol. 45
61 वृद्धा, fol. 47
62 नारायणभट्टा, fol 53
63. माला, fol. 53
64 हेमाद्रि, fol. 59, (Hemādri's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* is possibly referred to (Vide my Introduction to *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* edited by Harishastri Paradkar, N.S Press, Bombay 1938)
65 सुश्रुत, fol. 59
66 अष्टांगसंग्रह, fol. 66
67. वंगसेन, fol. 68, (Vide my paper in *Indian Culture*, III,535–543)
68 रतिदेव, fol. 73
69. प्राच्या, fol. 71
70. इट्टचंद्र, fol 74
71. चद्रनदन., fol. 74
72. रूपनारायण, fol 76, 83
73 स्वामी, fol. 77, 83
74 कालिदास, fol. 80.
75 विदग्धमुखमडन, fol. 88
76 जेज्जट, fol. 90
77. भवभूति, fol 92
78 गुणमाला fol 93
79. उत्पलिनीकोष, fol. 104

Many of the lexicons in the above list are mentioned innumerable times but I have desisted from noting all these references for want of space. I shall prove in a separate paper that the references to " रामाश्रमाः " by Śivadatta (Vide No 59 in the above list) are to the " व्याख्यासुधा " commentary on the *Amarakośa* by Bhānuji Dīkṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita [1] Bhānuji flourished between A D. 1600 and 1650 or so and hence

[1] Vide my paper on the Date of Bhattoji Dikṣita in the *Annals* (Tirupati Ori Institute), Vol. I, pp 117-127. Bhānuji was a contemporary of Varadarāja, the pupil of Bhattoji (Vide my paper in *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, pp [illegible]).

may be looked upon as the senior contemporary of Śivadatta, who composed his lexicon in A. D. 1677

It appears that Śivadatta was a learned physician and had an equally learned son of the name Krsnadatta, who composed, a commentary on the *Dravyagunaśataśloki* of Trimalla.[1] This commentary is called *Dīpikā* or *Dravyadīpikā*. Aufrecht records the following MSS of this commentary –

CC, I, 120 -- "Oudh IX, 26" and "NP, V, 30"

CC, II, 51 -- "Rgb 922" (by कृष्णदत्त son of शिवदत्त) The MS "Rgb 922" is identical with No 922 of 1884-87 in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. This MS contains a corrupt colophon as follows —

folio 33 — "विश्ववंदितचतुर्भुजतातावासविद्यशिवदत्तसुतस्य । कृष्णदत्तः कृतिन कृतिरेषा"

It is clear from this colophon that कृष्णदत्त was the son of शिवदत्त, who was himself the son of चतुर्भुज. In verse 2 at the beginning of the work Krsnadatta refers to his own authorship of the work as follows —

"त्रिमल्लभट्टरचितो यो द्रव्यगुणसंग्रह ।
कृष्णदत्तेन तट्टीका क्रियते द्रव्यदीपिका ॥ २ ॥"

On the strength of the data gathered so far we can reconstruct the following genealogy of Śivadatta's family —

कर्पूरीय चतुर्भुज (A. D. 1600-1650)
|
Son
{ Between A D 1625 and 1700 } शिवदत्त — Composed शिवकोश with commentary in A D 1677 and सञ्ज्ञासमुच्चय (MS of A D 1719)
|
Son
(C. A D 1700) कृष्णदत्त composed द्रव्यदीपिका

Aufrecht has already pointed out that शिवदत्तमिश्र is mentioned in the *Kavīndracandrodaya* This work has now been published.[2] In the list of Benares Pandits whose tributes to Kavindrācārya Sarasvati[3] are recorded in the above work we find the name of शिवदत्तमिश्र. The identity of

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1 Trimalla flourished between A D 1383 and 1499 according to Prof H D Velankar (Vide p 59 the *Catalogue of B B. R A Society MSS*, Vol I (1925) — MS No 175 of Dravyagunaśataśloki).

2 Edited by Dr Hara Datta Sharma and Mr M. M. Patkar, published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1939.

3 Vide my paper on "Bernier and Kavindrācārya Sarasvati at the Mughal Court" (*Annals of the S. V. Ori. Institute, Tirupati*, Vol I Part 4, pp 1--16)

this शिवदत्तमिश्र with his namesake the author of the *Śivakośa* needs to be examined *Śivakośa* was composed in A D. 1677 by Śivadatta and it is highly probable that this author, who was a junior contemporary of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvati may have joined other Benares Pandits in their chorus of congratulations offered to Kavīndrācārya on the occasion of the abolition of the pilgrim tax at Benares through the successful intervention of Kavīndrācārya with Emperor Shah Jahan (A. D 1628-1658).

The editors of the *Kavīndracandrodaya* make the following remarks regarding Śivadatta Miśra in their Introduction (p. viii) —

" 44. *Śivadatta Miśra,* son of Caturbhuja, author of Śivakoṣa written in 1677 and Saṃjñā Samuccaya (med.) (CC. I, 649*a*). Prose passages 1-14 on p. 26. "

Evidently they tentatively follow the identification of the Ś. Miśra of the *Kavīndracandrodaya* with his namesake, the author of the *Śivakośa* as suggested by Aufrecht. We have, however, to see if the prose passages ascribed to Śivadatta Miśra furnish any conclusive proof about this identity. My examination of prose passages shows nothing in them to prove the above identity except the identity of names indicated by the expression.

" शिवदत्तमिश्राणामेताश्चतुर्दशप्रशस्त्यनुपूर्व्यं. "

Prof Velankar describes a MS [1] of a commentary on the *Rasahṛdaya* of Govinda. This commentary was composed by one चतुर्भुजमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र of the Kurala family (कुरलवंशपयोधि). Has this चतुर्भुजमिश्र of the कुरलवंश any connection with the कर्पूरीयचतुर्भुजमिश्र ? This question cannot be answered at present.

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1 Vide p 61 of *Cata. of B. B R A Society's MSS,* Vol I. (1925) — MS No 192. One चतुर्भुज composed his रसकल्पद्रुम in Samvat 1705 = A. D 1649 (Vide p. XXXV of Stein's Kashmir Catalogue) for Shāyista Khān.

7 Exact Date of the Advaitasudhā of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita (A. D. 1663) and his possible Identity with Lakṣmaṇārya, the Vedānta teacher of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the Commentator of the Mahābhārata *

My friend Mr K. M. K. Śarmā, Curator of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, has just published a note, on सारस्वताद्वैतसुधा (a Dissertation on the *Raghuvaṃśa*) by Laksmana Pandita. [1] I note below some points from Mr. Sarma's note —

(1) The only work of LP (= लक्ष्मणपण्डित) well-known to scholars is his commentary सारचन्द्रिका on the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*

(2) लक्ष्मण the author of the *Yoga Candrikā* (*CC*, I, 536) and लक्ष्मण the author of सारचन्द्रिका are identical

(3) There are two MSS of the *Yoga Candrikā* [2] in the Anup Library, Bikaner (Nos. 4404 and 4405) One of these MSS, viz No. 4405 is dated *Samvat* 1747 (= A. D 1690)

(4) LP was of *Kauṇḍinya Gotra* He was the son of Datta and Gojāmbikā

(5) LP was the younger brother of Ganeśa and Raghunātha of Benares

(6) Nāgeśa and Nārāyana, his maternal uncles, were his preceptors in medical science.

(7) उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ (the author of लघुवार्तिकटीका) was his preceptor in *Advaita*.

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* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol X, Nos. 1 and 2, Pages 1–7

1 Vide pp. 69-72 of *Jour of Gangaratha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol II, Part 1 (November, 1944)

2 There is a MS of the Yoga-Candrikā in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O R. Institute (No 763 of 1882-83) It is called *Vaidyaka Yoga-Candrikā* In verse 3 LP refers to his gurus in medicine, viz. नागनाथ and नारायण as follows —

Folio 6 — "विचक्षणानां चुवनागनाथनारायणौ तावहमानतोऽस्मि." This MS is dated Śaka 1778 (= A D 1856) The MS belonged to भाऊ भटजी पुराणीक वोरसाइवाडीकर It was copied from the original belonging to "रामचंद्र मयाराम गोजरे"

(8) He pays his homage to रामाश्रम also. This Rāmāśrama is possibly identical with his name-sake, the son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. If this identity is correct we get about A. D. 1650 as the upper limit for the date of LP.

(9) The lower limit for the date of LP is A. D. 1690, the date of the Bikaner MS of his *Yoga Candrikā.*

(10) We can assign LP to the latter half of the 17th century, i.e. *between A. D 1650 and 1700.*

(11) There is a MS of the सारस्वताद्वैतसुधा of LP in the Anup Library, Bikaner. It is a philosophical and grammatical dissertation on the *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa The MS contains 66 folios (8½″ × 3½″) containing the commentary upto the 16th verse of Canto I

I have now to add the following information about LP and his works as gathered by me during the course of my studies —

(1) Mr Sarma is correct in assigning LP to the period c. A D 1650–1700.

(2) There is a MS of the *Advaitasudhā* of LP in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R Institute, Poona. It is *No. 113 of 1902–1907* In this MS we find the exact date [1] of composition of this *Advaita* work, viz. *Samvat 1719 = A D 1663.*

(3) LP was a contemporary of Nilakantha Caturdhara the celebrated commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, who flourished at Benares between A. D. 1650 and 1700 as I have proved in several papers.

(4) The *Catalogue of Alwar Darbar MSS* by Peterson (1891), p. 19 describes a work called अद्वैतसुधाकल्प which is possibly identical with the अद्वैतसुधा (B. O. R. I MS) and the सारस्वताद्वैतसुधा (Bikaner MS) Peterson makes the following remarks about this Alwar MS —

> " 484 — अद्वैतसुधाकल्प by लक्ष्मण, son of दत्तसूरि of the कौण्डिन्यकुल and गोत्र of the आत्रेयकुल of Benares. गणेश and रघुनाथ were his elder brothers and नागेश and नारायण, his uncles on the mother's side. He praises his teacher उत्तमश्लोक and रामाश्रम. दत्त's father was विश्वनाथ. Our

1 The colophon of the MS records this date —

" नन्देन्दुस्वरधरणी गणेपमवत्संपन्ति गनचति विक्रमे क्रमेण ।
इन्द्रोपितगिरिना तिथौ शुचिडा वाग्देवीप्रतिनिर्गनेम प्रसिद्धा ॥ "

The chronogram नन्द (9), इन्दु (1), स्वर (7), धरणी (1) is equal to Samvat 1719 = A D 1663 I have described this MS on pp [illegible] of my Cata. of Kāvya MSS (B O R. Institute), Vol. XIII, Part II (1913)

author was a hearer of शुक्लदीक्षित's lectures and he learned तर्क from माधव and वेद from his father "

(5) *S R. Bhandarkar's Report on MSS* (2nd Tour—1904–1906) p. 45, describes a MS of the अद्वैतसुधा as follows — " *Advaitasudhā*, commentary on the सारस्वतोपनिषद् which is also called रघुवंश. It is by लक्ष्मणपंडित son of .... (द)त्तसूरि, an ornament of the ब्रह्मज्ञानिन् family. The author was kindly regarded by उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ महामुनि An attempt is made therein to interpret the रघुवंश so as to yield a Vedāntic meaning "

(6) The India Office Library contains two MSS of the (Vaidyaka) *Yoga–Candrikā* [vide p. 982 of *I. O. Cata*, Part I by Eggeling (1896)] These are —

No 2753— योगचन्द्रिका a treatise on materia medica in 38 chapters by लक्ष्मणपंडित, son of दत्त. The author studied medicine at Benares under the tuition of two brothers नागेश (नागनाथ) and नारायण and had three elder brothers गणेश, रघुनाथ and राम and a younger brother विट्ठल [1] This MS is dated Samvat 1800 (= A. D 1744)

No 2754— Do—Copied by one लम्बोदर in *Samvat 1733* (= A D 1676). This MS is the *earliest dated MS* of *Vaidyakacandrikā* of LP It is 14 years earlier than the Bikaner MS of the work copied in A. D 1690 as pointed out by Mr Sarma

(7) LP States in verse 10 at the end of the *Advaitasudhā* as follows —

" स लक्ष्मणो दक्षिणदिश्यपास्य श्रिय सदानन्दममन्दमिच्छन् ।
काश्यामुदासीनमति शरीरे विश्वेशसेवी समयाकरोति ॥ १० ॥ "

Evidently LP was a southerner He abandoned his property at home and becoming indifferent to the world went to Benares LP was possibly a Mahārāstra Brahmin as the name of his mother, viz. गोजा suggests. We must, however, get more data for proving this point conclusively

(8) Works and authors mentioned by LP in his *Advaitasudhā* (B O. R I MS *No 103 of 1902–1907*) are —

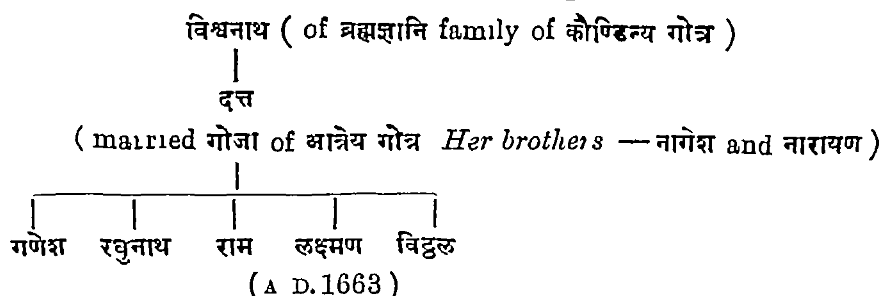
विश्व, अमर, याज्ञवल्क्यवचनव्याख्या, कामधेनौ, सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणव्याख्याता, अमरचन्द्र, विवरणाचार्यचरणा, मालविकाग्निमित्रे, मेदिनी, काव्यप्रकाश, चित्रमीमांसा, कैयटे, वेदनिघंटौ, एकाक्षरनाममाला, सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे भोजराज, बृहदारण्यक, वशब्राह्मण, केशव, वार्तिककारपादा, जाबालश्रुति, कौर्म, ईश्वरगीता, शारीरकभाष्य, मनु, याज्ञवल्क्य, विज्ञानेश्वर,

1 This information is gathered from the last three verses of the MS reproduced by Eggeling

संक्षेपशारीरक, नानार्थरत्नमाला, नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धे., वार्तिकसारे, श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषत्, विश्वप्रकाशे, बृहदारण्यकभाष्ये, चोपालित, किरातार्जुनीये, भट्टि, गीताभाष्ये, विष्णुपुराण, पाणिनीये, श्लोकवार्तिककार, न्यायरत्नाकर, शाबरभाष्यवृत्ति, उत्तमश्लोक, वाग्भट, सुश्रुत, डल्हण, रत्नमाला, माधव, हरदत्त, नाममाला, भागवते, महाभारते, वाल्मीकिरामायणे, ऋग्वेदभाष्ये, भोजेन, श्रीहर्ष, अमरक, आत्मपुराणे, प्रबोधचन्द्रोदये, दशरूपक, विक्रमोर्वशीय, गौडपाद, उपदेशसाहस्त्र्या भगवत्पादैः, मोक्षधर्मे, अद्वैतमकरन्द, चक्रदत्त, मुरारि, पातंजलमहाभाष्यकार, चरक, राघवपाण्डवीये, वाजसनेयके, तैत्तिरीयभाष्ये, अग्निपुराणे, हेमाद्रौ, कूर्मपुराण, राघवानन्द, व्याख्यातारः सर्वज्ञनारायणादय, पराशरमाधवीय, विश्वादर्श, जैमिनीये, नानार्थकोष, भामतीनिबंधे, शब्दकौस्तुभे, विश्वशम्भु, आनंदगिरि, नृसिंहाश्रम, कल्पतरुकार, न्यायसूत्रकाराः, खंडनकार, सांख्या, सर्वज्ञात्मगुरव, माधवाचार्य, पराशरस्मृति, इष्टसिद्धि, नारदादि स्मृति, स्कान्दे, योगीश्वरोक्तं, दक्ष, पारमर्षसूत्रे, वात्स्यायन, "श्रीवीरभद्रकृतया वात्स्यायनसूत्रतत्वात्मकथया", सौगतमते, टीकाचार्यैः सार्वभौमग्रंथे, भविष्यत्पुराणे, उदयनाचार्यैः, दर्पमिश्र, प्रश्नोपनिषद्भाष्य, गारुडे, श्रीकंठाचार्य, मध्वमुखमर्दन, शिवाद्वैतविनिर्णय, अद्वैतसिद्धौ, आनन्दतीर्थ, उत्कलाचार्य, नृसिंहमिश्र, विद्यारण्यगुरुभि., शास्त्रदर्पणे, अनुक्रमणिकाकारा, वृत्तिकारो हलायुध, भर्तृहरि, भट्ट सोमेश्वर, वाक्यपदीयव्याख्यातार, संगीतरत्नाकर, शार्ङ्गधराचार्य., जयदेव, स्वात्मयोगप्रदीपिका, अभिनवगुप्त, रत्नेश्वर, दंडिना, भवभूति, कृष्णमिश्र, रामचन्द्रसरस्वती, मुरारिमिश्र, भट्टिकाव्य, बिल्वमंगल, गोविंदराज, राजशेखर, भट्टबाण, रायमुकुट, अबुलालंकर रामचन्द्रभट्टानाम्, विश्वादर्शे कविकान्तसरस्वतीनाम्, ब्रह्मपुराणे, बृहन्नारदीये, मार्कण्डेये, ईश्वरगीता, शिवगीता, वासिष्ठ, भगवद्गीता, पंचपादिका, भट्टभास्कर, आत्मगीता, खंडनकृत्, अथर्वशिखा, आश्वमेधिके, उत्तररामायणे, एकाक्षररत्नमाला, धरणि, गर्भोपनिषद्, "सर्वारम्भपरित्यागीस्वरूपैकात्मसंस्थित । उग इत्येवविख्यातो महाराष्ट्रादिभाषया ॥", महार्घत्वादिनानृमतिदुर्लभदर्शन । प्रियमित्येवकर्णाटभाषयाव्यपदिश्यते ॥" (folio 18 of Kalāpa III), आपस्तंब, हरिणा, गणरत्न, देशीकोश, आपस्तंबाचार्य, विष्णुधर्मोत्तरात्, बादरायण, गौडपादीयभाष्य, भगवान् भाष्यकार, शाश्वत, मुडक, भगवत्पाद, ब्रह्मपुराणे, ब्राह्मणगीता, मार्कण्डेयपुराण, तत्त्वप्रदीपिका, चित्सुखाचार्य, ज्ञानसिद्धिकृता, न्यायसुधा, आचार्यवाचस्पतिमिश्रै, वासिष्ठे माधवादिनिबन्धेषु, वार्तिकसारे, भागवत-एकादशस्कन्ध, सोमनाथपंडितैः, कविकल्पद्रुम, शब्दकौस्तुभे हरदत्त., वासिष्ठः, अनुगीता, विवरणोक्ते, कामधेनौ कण्ठाभरणव्याख्यानात्, वोपदेव, नारायणसरस्वत्यादि गौडवेदान्तिग्रंथेषु शारीरकवार्तिकादिषु, शिवपुराण, अखण्डानन्द, योगाचार्यवार्षगण्य, सुरेश्वराचार्य, अद्वैतदीपिका, उपदेशसाहस्र्याम्, प्रश्नोपनिषन्मुण्डकमाण्डूक्योत्तरतापनीयादि, महाद्वैतिश्रीकृष्णमिश्रै, कैवल्यकेनोपनिषदादि, शिवतत्वविवेक, पूर्वतापनीयोपनिषद्, महोपनिषद्, सर्वज्ञात्मगुरूक्ते.

The foregoing list of works and authors mentioned by LP has been made by me cursorily, but it is sufficient to prove the wide range of study carried on by LP at Benares In fact LP shows familiarity with practically all branches of Sanskrit learning. We must, therefore, investigate and see if he composed any other works besides the अद्वैतसुधा, योगचन्द्रिका and सारचन्द्रिका referred to above.

(9) The genealogy of LP may be represented as follows —



(10) The chronology of the works of LP and their extant MSS as discussed in the present paper is as follows —

A D 1560–1620 — Bhattoji Dīksita flourished at Benares. LP mentions Bhattoji's शब्दकौस्तुभ in अद्वैतसुधा

„ *1550–1600* — Appaya Dīksita flourished at Benares. LP mentions चित्रमीमांसा and other works af Appaya Dīksita in अद्वैतसुधा.

„ *1663* — LP composed his अद्वैतसुधा at Benares

„ *1676* — India Office MS of the योगचन्द्रिका of LP.

„ *1690* — Bikaner MS of the योगचन्द्रिका of LP.

„ *1743* — India Office MS of the योगचन्द्रिका of LP

„ *1856* — B O. R Institute MS of the अद्वैतसुधा of LP

(11) Aufrecht (*CC I*, 536) refers to one namesake of LP in the following entry —

" लक्ष्मणभट्ट perhaps the guru of नीलकण्ठ (भारतभावदीपिका) (composed) महाभारतटीका ".

Cf *CC, I, 139* — "महाभारतटीका by लक्ष्मणभट (Burnell 148[a])" MS mentioned by Aufrecht as " Burnell 184[a] " is identical with MS No 8660 of *Tanjore Des Catalogue*, Vol XV, p 6485.

This is a MS of विराटपर्वप्रकाश of लक्ष्मणभट्ट and it is dated *Śaka 1589* = A. D 1667.

I find it difficult to accept Aufrecht's suggested identity of this लक्ष्मणभट्ट with लक्ष्मणार्य [1] mentioned by नीलकण्ठ चतुर्धर as his guru in Vedānta in the following verses —

1 Vide Mīmāmsā Prakāśa, Poona, April 1938, page 60—my article on Nārāyanatīrtha, the guru of Nīlakantha Caturdhara in Mīmāmsā.

" वेदान्ते लक्ष्मणार्यं ऋतुविधिविवृतौ तीर्थनारायणार्यं
तर्के धीरेशमिश्र फणिपतिभणितौ पोलगङ्गाधरार्यम्।
वेदे साङ्गे पितृव्य शिवमथ पितर दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ
श्रौते चिन्तामणिं. शरणमुपगतो भूम्नि गोपालदेवम् ॥ "

I am, however, inclined to suggest that लक्ष्मणार्य mentioned by नीलकण्ठ as his guru in Vedānta in the above stanza is possibly identical with लक्ष्मणपण्डित, the author of the अद्वैतसुधा, who was a senior contemporary of नीलकण्ठ चतुर्धर at Benares, say between A D 1630 and 1675. We have seen already that लक्ष्मणपण्डित constantly refers to his guru उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ in his अद्वैतसुधा. नीलकण्ठ चतुर्धर also refers to (1) his Vedānta teacher लक्ष्मणार्य and (2) उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ in the following stanzas of his रुद्रसारसंग्रहव्याख्या —

" गोपाल भूम्नि वेदे शिवमथविनये दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ
वेदान्ते लक्षणार्यं क्रतुविधिविवृतौ तीर्थनारायणार्यम्।
तर्के धीरेशमिश्रान् फणिपविभणितौ पोलगङ्गाधरार्यम्
श्रौते चिंतामणिं गुरुमकृतकृति तस्य सन्त पुनन्तु ॥
उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थाब्धिलब्धसद्युक्तमौक्तिकै. ।
खचिता रुद्रसूक्तस्य द्योतता धीमतां हृदि ॥ "[1]

I may also point out that लक्ष्मणभट्ट, the author of विराटपर्वप्रकाश (MS of A.D 1667) styles himself as " श्रीभट्टभट्टात्मजशाण्डिल्य लक्ष्मण etc " He is therefore, different from लक्ष्मणपण्डित, the son of गोजा and दत्त and the author of the अद्वैतसुधा

I hope the information about LP, the author of the *Advaitasudhā*, recorded by me in this paper will enable other scholars to study his works more closely than they have done hitherto In particular I would invite definite evidence from such scholars on the following points —

(1) My suggested identity of LP with लक्ष्मणार्य mentioned by Nīlakantha Caturdhara as his guru in Vedānta

(2) Any more information about LP than what is recorded by me above, especially about his descendants and the *Brahmajñāni* family of *Kaundinya Gotra* to which he belonged

(3) Exact dates of composition of the works of LP other than the *Advaitasudhā* composed in A D. 1663

(4) Was LP a Mahārāstra Brahmin ? If so, can we get any information about his migration to Benares from the Maratha sources ? LP

1 Ibid.

definitely states that he abandoned his property in the South and went to Benares (दक्षिणदिशि श्रिय अपास्य काश्यामुदासीनमति. शरीरे etc)

(5) Can we get any more historical information about the contact of LP with his gurus उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ and रामाश्रम, [1] mentioned as मुनिद्वय in the अद्वैतसुधा ?

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1 Vide my paper in the Prācyavāṇī, Calcutta, 1944 on "*A Critical survey of the Namesakes of* Rāmāśrama (*Between A. D. 1600 and 1677* ").

8 Fragments of Poems pertaining to King Śambhu, Son of Shivaji *

More than two years ago Mr. K. N. Deshapande, B. A., LL. B., pleader, Kolhapur, discovered two fragments of Manuscripts, one Sanskrit and the other Marathi, in the records of the Rajopadhye family of Kolhapur and he was kind enough to prepare copies of them and forward them to Mr G. S. Sardesai, B. A., Editor, Peshwa Daftar. In the meanwhile I published in the *Annals* Vol. XVI, pp 262–291 my paper on *Hari Kavi, the Court-poet of King Sambhaji and his Works.* As some of the fragments of the Mss copied by Mr. Deshapande contained new material about the reign of the same Maratha King Sambhaji and appeared to form portion of some unknown complete poems, Mr. Sardesai desired that I should publish these fragments with their critical analysis. I gratefully agreed to this suggestion and wanted to avail myself of the originals of the copies prepared by Mr Deshapande As, however, I failed to secure the originals, I have thought it advisable to publish the copies as they have reached me, with a view to facilitating my critical analysis of these fragments and at the same time guarding against permanent loss of this important material I wish to draw the attention of research students to these fragments to enable them to trace the whole works of which these are portions My critical analysis of these pieces will have to wait till their publication in suitable instalments. With these remarks I present to the readers the following first instalment of the Sanskrit fragment in question

" श्री गोविंद ॥ कवींद्र उवाच ॥ —

अथ प्रोद्दामवीरश्री शंभुराजो महाबली ॥
सभामगाद्विनोदेन कस्मिंश्चिदपि वासरे ॥ १ ॥
प्रवीणा नर्तांगृंपहन् महानंदभरालस ॥
सिंहासने विशेषेण विरराज सुरेंद्रवत् ॥ २ ॥
ततो रद· समावीक्ष्य नानालक्षणलक्षित ॥
उपाध्यायान् द्विजश्रेष्ठान् मांत्रिकान् तांत्रिकानपि ॥ ३ ॥
कवीश्वरान् पंडिताश्च विद्वान् योगीश्वरानपि ॥
सामाजिकान् नत्रिवरान् ग गनान् प्रधनप्रधान् ॥ ४ ॥

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* *Annals of the B O R Institute*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 287–295.

भूदुर्गाण्यनुरक्षंति लक्षयंति हितं मम ॥ ३७ ॥
पाटण्खोर[1]कृतावासा प्रवासैककृतक्षणा. ।
मदाश्रयं संश्रयन्तो भजन्ति शिवमुत्कटं ॥ ३८ ॥
भूय. परलें[2]खोरस्था प्रेष्यतां मम्रसंगता ।
जैत्रयात्राः प्रकुर्वन्ति प्रोप्पुंसति[3] सभास्वलं ॥ ३९ ॥
तथा तारल[4]खोरस्था शूरा केचन संमताः ।
मत्पत्तिसेनां पतितां भावि प्राप्य क्षितौ किल ॥ ४० ॥
मेढे[5]खोराश्रया. प्राय प्रकर्तु प्रसभोद्यता ।
मत्पत्तिसैन्यपार्श्वस्था प्रस्थाने प्रभवन्त्युत ॥ ४१ ॥
कुडाल[6]खोरे प्रखरा. खरांशुरिव रश्मिभि ।
अभिख्यां कामपि भुवि मत्प्रेष्या: ख्यापयन्त्यहो ॥ ४२ ॥
फोंडेकरा[7]. स्वार्ल[8]सीकास्तथा हेटकुडालका ।
मणेरी[9]मर्दनगडहेरेकरनिवासिन ॥ ४३ ॥
श्रृखलॉं[10]करसंयुक्ताश्चादेरीग्रामवासिन ।
मत्पत्तिसेनावामांगमगीकुर्वन्ति सगरे ॥ ४४ ॥
अन्ये वारुण[11]खोरस्था रोहिडेखोरजै[12] सह ।
राजापुर[13]समावेशास्तथा सौंदल[14]जा अपि ॥ ४५ ॥
पांसुपत्तन[15]भूमिस्था· वरा लांजे[16]करा पुन ।
देवलॅ[17]ग्रामसंभूता देवरूख[18]भवा परे ॥ ४६ ॥
संगमेश्वर[19]भूपाला सांवडें[20]करजा दृढं ।
प्रपालयन्ति दक्षाग सेनाया मम सर्वदा ॥ ४७ ॥
चिपोलण[21]भवा केचिद्दाभोली[22]प्रभवास्तथा ।
फुणगूस[23] कृतावासाः धामणै[24]कविलासिन ॥ ४८ ॥
हातखांबे[25]करा केचिन्मत्ता केलकरा[26] परे ।
सालसी[27]पत्तनगृहा. केचिद्वेलेकरा[28]. सदा ॥ ४९ ॥
पुत्रपौत्रै परियुता· शूराग्र्यपदवीं गता ।
अवन्ति मम सेनाया दक्षवामकरा अपि ॥ ५० ॥

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1 Patan Valley
2 Parli.
3 प्रोल्लसति ?
4 Tarla Vally
5 Medhe.
6 Kudal.
7 Fonda.
8 Salsi
9 Maneri.
10 साखलीकर.
11 Varna.
12 Rohida.
13 Rajapur
14 Soundal.
15 Pamvas.
16 Lanja.
17 Devle.
18 Devrukh
19 Sangameshwar
20 Savarda.
21 Chiplun.
22 Dabhol.
23 Fungus
24 Dhamani.
25 Hathkhamba.
26 Kele.
27 Salsi
28 Vele

[1]क्षारपत्तनिका केचिद्[2]राजेपत्तनिका· परे ।
[3]सौंटेलीपुर संजातास्तथा [4]जैतापुरीयका· ॥ ५१ ॥
प्रभावलीया:* मौद्दामसग्रामकृतविस्मया ॥
गर्जन्तो दक्षिणे पार्श्वे पत्तीनां प्रभवन्त्यपर ॥ ५२ ॥
मूरेकरा:† [5]केलवेल्ली जयवल्लीसमुद्भवा ।
मल्कापुरालया शूरा वाडीगोकर्णभूभवा ॥ ५३ ॥
[6]हरिचेरीपरिस्पंदा [7]कशेलीकाँश्च केचन ।
सुवर्णदुर्गप्रातस्था करवीरभवै· सह ॥ ५४ ॥
मूर्धानं मम सेनाया नदंतो भैरवान् रवान् ।
आलक्षयन्ति रक्षन्त स्वजनैरभिसवृता· ॥ ५५ ॥
नाना नाटकनिर्माणनिपुणाः पुण्यकारिणः ।
उदरे मम सेनाया· कर्णाटा निवसन्त्यलं ॥ ५६ ॥
अलंकरिष्णवोत्यर्थं वीरान् जिष्णुपराक्रमा ।
महाराष्ट्रोद्भवा वीरा सेनामध्ये लसंत्यमी ॥ ५७ ॥
रत्नालंकृतकोटीरकुंडलोज्वलविग्रहा ।
सेनावामाकमाप्राप्य तिष्ठन्ति वत सिंधुजा ॥ ५८ ॥
कुलावाचल देशस्था अचला युद्धकर्मणि ।
अधांतं मम सेनाया दक्षाके विभमंत्यरं ॥ ५९ ॥
महाकापथ्यभरिता· कानडीयप्रथा गता ।
वामकूर्परता यान्ति मत्सैन्यस्य रणोत्सवा ॥ ६० ॥
[8]आरलग्रामनिलया[9]स्तारलैकसमाश्रया ।
सोलाकुरीया· साम्रूळभवा [10]शाँलवनीयका ॥ ६१ ॥
[11]श्येनग्रामभवा· केचिद् राशिवडेकरमिश्रिता: ।
वामकुर्परतामस्मत्सेनायाः कल्पयंत्युत ॥ ६२ ॥
प्रेसल्कटाकेन केचित्काटका षण्मुखोद्यमा· ।
वामकुक्षिदक्षकुक्षिं पाळयान्ति वलस्य मे ॥ ६३ ॥
प्रचला प्रथिता [12]खानवलीग्रामसमुद्भवा ।
मत्सैन्यमध्यस्थेनाभिद्योतयन्ति दिशो दश ॥ ६४ ॥
कल्याणप्रातसजाता भीमजीजनुप· परे ।
मदीयसेनानेत्रश्रीभरं विभ्रति सर्वदा ॥ ६५ ॥

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1 Kharepatan. 2 Raypatan. 3 Satavli. 4 Jaitapur.
5 Kelavali 6 Haracheri. 7 Kasheli. 8 Arala.
9 Tarla. 10 Salvan. * Prabhanvalli
† सुरा is a portion of the Vishalgad hills. 11 Shengaon. 12 Khanavali.

नानाभूदुर्गरचितसंश्रया क्रूरमानसा ।
मदीयसैन्यकर्णाभां दीपयन्ति मदोन्नता ॥ ६६ ॥
सूवेदारा नायकाश्च जुम्लेकाराः सहस्रश ।
हवालदारा· प्रख्यातास्तथा सर्णोबता अपि ॥ ६७ ॥
येकाकिन परे केपि केपि बधुसुहृद्‌वृता ।
अटंति मम सैन्येऽस्मिन्नानादेशसमुद्‌भवा ॥ ६८ ॥
डिचोली[1]कुडवाल[2]स्था शिवेश्वरनिवासिन ।
आकोलेकर नामानस्तथा वांदेकरा अपि ॥ ६९ ॥
स्वस्वविक्रमसंदीप्ता शक्रवत्प्रथिता पर ।
मत्सेना प्रपदस्थाना द्योतति निजतेजसा ॥ ७० ॥
वर्णदूत[3]समालेखप्रगल्भधिषणोद्यमाः ।
लेखका सन्ति मे भूयाश्चित्रगुप्तोत्तमोत्तमा. ॥ ७१ ॥
पंडास्तांडवनिष्णाता गीष्पते समतां गता ।
रचयन्ति श्रिय कांचित् सभासु मम पंडिता ॥ ७२ ॥
अथर्वण इवाथर्वरहस्यज्ञानशालिन ॥
ललन्ति ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मविद सर्वत्र कर्मसु ॥ ७३ ॥
चतुर्वेदविदः केचिस्त्रिवेदी पारगामिन ॥
द्विवेदाध्ययना. केचिदेकवेदरता परे ॥ ७४ ॥
श्रोत्रिया. स्नातका मौनव्रतिनो जापका अपि ॥
तापसा जटिला केचिद्‌वल्कलाजिनधारिण· ॥ ७५ ॥
यायजूका योगविदो दीक्षिता अग्निहोत्रिण ॥
अयाचितव्रता ब्रह्मचारिणश्चोर्ध्वरेतस ॥ ७६ ॥
अधोमुखा ऊर्ध्वमुखा जीर्णपर्णाशनास्तथा ॥
पंचाग्निसाधना वायुभक्षका धूम्रभक्षका ॥ ७७ ॥
तोयाहारा फलाहारा कदमूलाशना पुन ।
नानावेषधरा केचिज्जटिला मुंडिनोपि च ॥ ७८ ॥
उलूखलमुखा केचिद्गोमुखा गोमयाशना. ॥
गोमूत्रप्राशना केचिच्छाकाहारश्च केचन ॥ ७९ ॥
कृशा अपि दिनेशाभमभाभरविलासिन ॥
मत्कल्याणपरा सर्वे तिष्ठन्ति मम सद्मनि ॥ ८० ॥
मन्त्रयंत्ररहस्यज्ञास्तान्त्रिका मान्त्रिका अपि ॥
समुदाये समुदय मत्सभासु गमन्त्यमी ॥ ८१ ॥
षड्‌दर्शनरहस्यज्ञा· प्रशस्ता. संकथास्वपि ॥

1 Dicholi 2 Kudal 3 वर्णदूत = a letter

आवेदयन्ति सततं मत्कल्याणपरं विधिम् ॥ ८२ ॥
गणिका गुणिनः केचिद् गणितग्रहमंडलाः ॥
वलगति दैवं बहुश सभासु मम सुव्रताः ॥ ८३ ॥
मुनयो यतय. केचिद्ब्रसद्मगतय सदा ॥
चिन्तयन्ति ममानीष्ट निरुपद्रवसश्रया ॥ ८४ ॥
सिद्धा प्रसिद्धा सर्वत्र सिद्धिपारमुपागता ॥
आशसयन्ति मत्सिद्धिं समिद्धाग्निसमप्रभा ॥ ८५ ॥
केपि कार्मणवेत्तार. परकृत्यानिवारका ।
अभिचारान्परकृतान्वारयन्ति धृतोद्यमा ॥ ८६ ॥
व्यायामशिक्षका. केचित्सश्रमैः सभृता. सदा ॥
कला काश्चिद् रगमध्ये दर्शयन्ति ममाग्रतः ॥ ८७ ॥
गान्धर्वविद्यासारस्य वेत्तारो दर्शका अपि ॥
गायन्ति गायना गाथां सुस्वरा वेणि(णु)लै· सह ॥ ८८ ॥
मार्दंगिका पाणिवादाः लयाकल्पनपडिता. ॥
भाडै सह महारंगे रजयन्ति मनो मम ॥ ८९ ॥
नानावाद्यकलाभिज्ञा सदाहमतिवर्जिता ॥
नटति विनटंत्युच्चैर्नटा· केचन तोरणे ॥ ९० ॥
आभंगुरावलग्नश्रीभरा. स्तनभरैरल ॥
नृत्यन्ति वारललना सततं मम चत्वरे ॥ ९१ ॥
नासत्याविव सर्वासु चिकित्सासु विचक्षणा. ॥
आवहन्ति श्रिय काश्चिन्मामका रोगहारिण. ॥ ९२ ॥
पुराणा ब्राह्मणा केचित्पुराणार्थप्रकाशका. ॥
पाराण्यग्रथिता गाथा कथयति ममाग्रत ॥ ९३ ॥
अलकारविद· केपि विपणापतिबुद्धयः ॥
आतोपयन्ति वाग्जालैर्मामक मानस मुहु. ॥ ९४ ॥
तर्कशास्त्रैकपठणात्कर्कशत्वमुपागता. ॥
रंजयन्ति महोद्ग्राहै समाज मम तार्किका. ॥ ९५ ॥
पूर्वोत्तरां च मीमांसा पठित्वा केपि धीवराः ॥
समर्थयन्ति सार्थेन स्वार्थान्स्वार्थपरायणा ॥ ९६ ॥
महाभाष्यप्रवक्तारश्छेत्तार सशयस्य च ॥
प्रदर्शयन्ति धात्वर्थान्नानारूपान्ममाग्रत ॥ ९७ ॥
नानाकाव्यकलालापकोविद. कविनायका ॥
आभूषयन्ति परमं समाज मामकं सदा ॥ ९८ ॥
चतु षष्टिकलातत्त्वपारगा कुलदीपका. ॥
क्रीडन्ति चत्वरे सर्वे दर्शयन्तः क्रमात्कलाः ॥ ९९ ॥

चतुर्दशसु विद्यासु शिक्षिता दीक्षिता अपि ॥
विवदन्ति मिथो वादै· स्वमतस्थापिनोद्धुरा. ॥ १०० ॥
विचित्रचित्ररचनाश्चतुराश्चटुलोक्तय ॥
चित्रकारा. केपि मम चित्रयन्ति गृहांतरम् ॥ १०१ ॥
कारव कारुशास्त्रार्थविचारश्चारुकुडला ॥
सुरेन्द्रभवनाकाराञ्जनयति मम गृहान्[1] ॥ १०२ ॥
पारीक्षका: परीक्षाभिर्बह्वीभी रत्नसंचयान् ॥
परीक्षयन्ति सततं कोशागारे मदीयके ॥ १०३ ॥
क्रयविक्रयमत्युच्चै. सतत सत्यवादिन ॥
वणिग्जना प्रकुर्वन्ति मत्पुरे गतभीतय ॥ १०४ ॥
कुरंगवाहनोदग्रवेगाः केपि तुरगमाः ॥
ह्रेषन्ति नृत्यन्त इव चत्वरे यामिकै सह ॥ १०५ ॥
गलन्मदा. सदोदग्रा मत्ता केपि मतंगजा: ॥
गर्जन्ति घनगंभीरमजिरेऽरातिदारुणा ॥ १०६ ॥
रथिभि सयुता केचिदंगणेऽमी महारथा ॥
विभान्ति भानुप्रतिमास्तेजोभिर्मेत्प्रियकरा ॥ १०७ ॥
देवा अपि मया दत्त पितृभि सहिताश्चिर ॥
हव्यकव्यानि गृह्णन्ति वितन्वन्ति मम प्रियम् ॥ १०८ ॥
इत्थं मनोरथोस्माकं शक्रेण प्रपूरित· ॥
तथाप्येका कापि चिंता मयि जागर्ति साम्प्रतम् ॥ १०९ ॥
कथं सुतो मम भवेत् प्राज्यसाम्राज्यकारक ॥
सर्वे ब्रूत सभास्तारा प्रविचार्य स्वके हृदि ॥ ११० ॥
कानुष्ठानस्य रचना पुरश्चर्याथ का पुन ॥
कार्या मया वा वदत प्रधानमंत्रिभि. सह ॥ १११ ॥

इत्थं शंभुनृप प्रगल्भविभव शक्रश्रिय भर्त्सयन् ।
शम्भ्वाराधनसाधनोपि तुलजासर्वस्वभूत पुन. ॥
पुत्रेहां हृदि संवहन्निजसभास्ताराच्चिगद्योच्चकै ॥
तूष्णीमास सतृष्ण एव सतत कालीसमाराधने ॥ ११२ ॥
इति कवीन्द्रप्रकाशिते ह्रस्यनुपुराणे सूर्यवशे अध्याय. ॥ १ ॥

The following stray stanza is found on one of the sheets of the manuscript fragments Its exact place in the text of the poems cannot be determined at present —

[1] प्रासादान्जनयन्ति मे

" जेता शत्रुव्रजाना निजभुजविजयी वीरवर्गस्य नेता
भर्ता धर्मस्य लक्ष्म्या अपि समरविधावग्रगामी प्रहर्ता ।
धर्ता धीरस्य हर्ताद्भुतदुरिततते: पालको भूसुराणां
फत्तेसिंहो नृसिंहोऽपर इव जयतां ख्यात (एषो पृथिव्याम्) ॥"

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9. Fragments of poems pertaining to king Śambhu, son of Shivaji *

I published in the *Annals of the B. O R. Institute,* Vol. XVII pp. 287–295 the first instalment of the fragments of poems pertainin to the Maratha King Sambhaji, son of Shivaji the great. The followin fragments form the second instalment of these poems found in the record of the Rajopadhye family of Kolhapur. The circumstances under whic copies of these fragments were kept at my disposal by Rao Bahadu G. S. Sardesai, Editor, Peshwa Daftar, and Mr. K. N. Deshpande of Kolhapu have already been described by me in my introductory note to the firs instalment of these fragments.

॥ कवीन्द्र उवाच ॥

इत्थ निगद्य धरणीपाले शिवसुते तदा

तूष्णींभूते सभास्तारा परस्परमुखेक्षणा. ॥ १ ॥

छदोगामात्यसहिता सोपाध्याया सयोगिन: ।

शिवयोगिनमित्यर्थं पुरस्कृत्य तपोनिधिम् ॥ २ ॥

अब्रुवन्वचनैश्चारुचमत्कृतिविधायकै ।

एकचित्ताग्रतां गत्वा तच्छृण्वन्तु मनीषिण ॥ ३ ॥

मंत्रिण ऊचु ॥

भो राजन्यकुलश्रेष्ठ चिंतां मा कुरु सर्वथा ।

आराधयस्व तां कालीं योगनिद्रां हरे पराम् ॥ ४ ॥

परावरैकसिद्धीना दात्रीं पात्रीं सुखस्य च ।

दमिताशेषदैतेन्द्रमडला मंगलालयां ॥ ५ ॥

तडित्कोटिप्रतीकाशतेजोभरतरंगिणीम् ।

पंचाशद्वर्णसद्रूपां सुरूपां मदविह्वलाम् ॥ ६ ॥

मदघूर्णितरक्ताक्षीं योगियोगैकगोचराम् ।

चराचरस्य निर्माणकारिणीं शाकरप्रियाम् ॥ ७ ॥

शक्तीनामपि सर्वासामाद्या वंद्यां विशेषत ।

वेद्यां समस्त तन्त्रोघैर्मन्त्रसघप्रवर्तिनीम् ॥ ८ ॥

भवत्कुलैकवरदां दरदां दनुजेप्पल(ला ?)म् ।

ताटकयुगलीभूतभानुराकेशमडलाम् ॥ ९ ॥

मुक्तामणिप्रघटितमायूरा कीरनासिकाम् ।

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* *Annals of the B O R. Institute,* Vol. XIX, pp 49–60.

कुचकुंभसमाकारतुहिनस्वर्णपर्वताम् ॥ १० ॥
अशेषदोषदलिनीं सदयां भक्तमंडले ।
करांगुलिनखोद्भूतनारायणदशाकृतिम् ॥ ११ ॥
महाकालस्य रमणीं जननीमपि सर्वदा ।
श्यामलां कोमलभुजां श्यामलाखविलासिनीम् ॥ १२ ॥
जितहंसगतिं शश्वत्क्वनत्कनककंकणा ।
दाडिमीबीजसदृशदन्तपंक्तिद्वयोज्ज्वलाम् ॥ १३ ॥
गूढगुल्फां कूर्मपृष्ठजयिष्णुप्रपदद्वयां ।
पादांगुलीनखज्योतिः परिनिर्जितकौमुदीं ॥ १४ ॥
कच्छपीध्वनिगंभीरगीताकर्णननिश्चला ।
भारत्या. सत्यनिलयां महितां सहिता श्रिया ॥ १५ ॥
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* This केशव may be the केशव पुरोहित, author of Rājarāma-Carita?

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॥ इति अध्याय. ॥

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मार्कंडेयो महायोगी योगयोगागगोचर ।
दीर्घायुरप्रतिहतबलवीर्याणि चावृणोत् ॥ २४ ॥
सुरर्षयो नारदाद्या पुलस्त्याद्या महर्षय. ।
ब्रह्मर्षय. कश्यपाद्या. संप्रापु स्वमनोरथान् ॥ २५ ॥
कामोनिकामं कुसुमशरोर्वैर्धनुषापि च ।
अजयज्जगतीं तेजो वहन्निमपि सर्वदा ॥ २६ ॥
इत्य समस्तं माहात्म्यं मन्त्रस्य परिदर्शितं ।
अथ यंत्रं केरलाना वच्मि चारु समासत. ॥ २७ ॥
रम्यं षट्कोणमालिख्य त्रिकोणत्रितयं लिखेत् ।
वसुपत्रं धरागेह पूजायंत्रं समीरित ॥ २८ ॥

पीठपूजां विधायादौ तत आवरणार्चनं ।
प्रकुर्यात् साधक श्रेष्ठ संपदामालयो भवेत् ॥ २९ ॥
सजयां विजयां पश्चादजितामपराजितां ।
नित्यां विलासिनीं दोग्ध्रीमघोरामथमंगलाम् ॥ ३० ॥
पीठशक्तीरिमा ख्याता महावरणदेवता ।
समासेन प्रवक्ष्यामि सांगावरणपूर्विकाम् ॥ ३१ ॥
महाप्रेतं शिव ध्यात्वा हृदये तस्य सुस्थिरा ।
महाकालरतां वेशवशा युक्तां शिवागणै ॥ ३२ ॥
स्मृत्वा पुष्पाजलिं दत्वा मूलमन्त्रेण साधक ।
आरभ्य पूर्वामंगानि षडस्रे पूरिपूजयेत् ॥ ३३ ॥
काली कपालिनिकुलां कुरकुल्ला विरोचिनीं ।
विप्रचित्तामथ नवकोणे शक्तीर्न वार्चयेत् ॥ ३४ ॥
उग्रामुग्रप्रथां दीप्ता नीलां पश्याप्रनामपि ।
वलाकिकामथोमात्रा मुद्रां मित्रां प्रपूजयेत् ॥ ३५ ॥
सरोरुहाष्टपत्रेषु ब्राह्मीं नारायणीमथ ।
माहेश्वरीं च चामुंडा कौमारीमपराजितां ॥ ३६ ॥
वाराहीं नारसिंहीं च भूपुरेथार्चयेत्सुधी ॥
भैरवीं च प्र. . ... .. ॥

संभाजीराजस्य जन्मातरीयवृत्तम् ।

... भक्तिभावभरितहृदयश्रीशिवभूपपदराज्ञ्या जातिस्मृति .. .. अपत्यासत्यवगत जन्मान्तरीय-वृन्तान्तजात विषदयाम

सा* किल सोमाच......नाथ मण्डनायमानरत्नपुरेशमहामहीपालपुत्रिका ललामा कमनीय-तररमणीयरूपे द्विजदेवतैकनिष्ठा कनिष्ठीकृतवामदेवादिब्रह्मर्षिस्वरूपे नारदादिदेवर्षिदीधित्यनुरूपे कस्मिंश्चिन्निजपुरोध पुत्रे प्रेमातिशयमहिम्ना पुत्रभावनां कलयांचकार । सोपि पंचगौडातर्गत द्विजाग्रणी गुणगरिमनिविष्टहृदय सहृदय सुतरा स्वसौन्दर्यसौष्ठववशीकृतसुरसुन्दरीम् अपरामिव त्रिपुर-सुंदरीं सुंदरीं मातृभावना(भवन)यामास । एव निरतिशयानुपमेयाप्रमेयप्रेमसंभारभरितमनसो-स्तयो कौशल्यारामयोरिव सर्वजनमनोरम एकाहोरात्रत्रुटिकासहनशील सीताकुशीलवलयसमान शिशिरीकृतसर्वशरीरावयव कश्चिदपूर्वस्नेहकलाकलापः शुद्धान्तकरणयोर्नि प्रत्यूह प्रतिफलति स्म । एव स्नेहप्रस्फुरणादुत्तरोत्तरवर्धिष्णुतावलनाद्दिनंदिनदर्शनमपि नूतनमिवाकलनादुभयोर्भूयस्तरामति-दु सहवियोगसहिष्णुता समजनि । तस्यातिशयितस्नेहासंगानुपगासक्तचेतस का . कालीविपक्त... निगमागमप्रतिपादितोपासनामार्गप्रविष्टस्य पुरोहितपुत्रस्य अस्यामेव जन्म गृह्णीया राजधर्माननुभवितुं इति भूय कर्ममर्मसंपादयित्री जन्मान्तरीयशर्मसंपत्तिदात्री शोभनगात्री वर्मवशसंभवनिमित्तविधि-निर्मितैक--पात्री नानाविधपुण्यक्षेत्रपुरश्चर्या परंपरासुवासनासत्पात्री वासना सत्पात्री सहैव प्रचचार । तमग्न्यजन्मान ब्राह्मणमनुप्रधमनेकप्राकारिकपुण्यक्षेत्रं प्रचलनशीलोपि तु शील. सुशीलनामा प्रेमाप्रिया कश्चित् सदाशिवगण (तपोविघ्नमाचरामीति निर्बंधप्रार्थनापुर सर प्रमारिवशुद्धाञ्जलि)

श्रृङ्गाररसासक्तयो. नेत्रसंज्ञामात्रबलमबलस्याविष्कृतवैरिभावं प्रकटीकुर्वन् बहु प्रत्यूहपुंजयै पीडयति स्म। सोपि तमतिवंचयित्वैव कतिपयैरहोभिर्दर्शनमात्रेणैवानेकविधपापीजनसंघातसंभारसभरितजगदुद्धारवापत्रयोन्मूलकान्वयीकृतजगन्नाथनामधेयदारुब्रह्मस्वरूपिपुरुषोत्तमसंनिधावुत्पत्तिपुण्यतरपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे पुण्यनक्षत्रे सुरलोकसोपानपरंपरासु सुखेनैव पदप्रक्षेपणं निधिनिक्षेपणमिव स्वयं स्वीचकार। तद्वार्ताश्रवणमात्रनिरस्तिसर्वांगवृत्तिनिश्चेष्टपुत्रिकेव राजपुत्रिका तत्पुत्रपरिष्वंगसुख लेलिहानेव तापाभिभूता त्रिगुणात्मिकां तनुं द्वित्रिदिनैरेव तत्याज। इत्थं प्रदर्शितकथाकलापवृत्त्या शिवराजाभिधा प्राप्तस्य सुशीलनाम्न ययीतिनामनिविष्टाया हैहयवशभू(पग)पतेरात्मजाया लब्धसंवध सुसिद्ध एव । अकुरितवैरीभावविभावितात करणतया शभुसंज्ञां प्रविष्टस्य पुरोहितसूनो किंचित् वक्रिमभावे विभाव्यते पितु पुत्रस्य च। स्व स्ववासनानुबंधानुबद्धसंबद्धा अपि त्रया त्रिगुणात्मका शरीरसंपदं प्रापुरेवं सूचनामात्रप्रदर्शनं विहितमत्र ग्रन्थविस्तरभयाद्विस्तरेणालं ॥

श्रीशंभोचरणानुसेवनरतौ तौ दपती सर्वदा
यत्तत्काल उपागतान्बहुविधान्संपूजयन्तौ सुरान् ।
प्रेमोद्रेकमुपेयुषोरनुदिन स्वल्पैरहोभिस्तयो.
शंभु प्रादुरभूत्सुत: शुभतर स्वामीकुमारप्रभ: ॥ ५० ॥
राज्यं वृद्धिमुपागत बहुतरं शौर्यं शिवेनाचितं
कीर्तिर्दिक्षु .. .. प्रसरिता प्रत्यक्षभूचन्द्रिका ।
शभोरद्भुतविक्रमस्य विशदं श्रीविक्रमार्कानुग
विज्ञात सकलैर्जनैरजनितन्माहात्म्यमन्यादृश ॥ ५१ ॥

॥ कवीन्द्र उवाच ॥

इत्थं काल्या मया प्रोक्तो यंत्रस्य च मनोरपि ।
महत्त्वमथ वक्ष्यामि परम शिवयोगिन ॥ १ ॥
उत्तरस्या पुण्यतमा राढा नाम महापुरी ।
नाना तपोवनाकीर्णा नानामुनिसमाकुला ॥ २ ॥
अनेकतीर्थैर्निचिता महापुण्यफलप्रदै ।
हसाकारोद्यानकीर्णैश्चक्रवाकोपशोभितै ॥ ३ ॥
हसै. परमहसैश्च वालाखिल्यैः समावृता ।
गतद्वेषैरभिवृता सिंहव्याघ्रमृगादिभि. ॥ ४ ॥
गतदंशा गतक्रोधजनमंडलभासुरा ।
कुलस्त्रीभि. परिवृता नानापुष्पलताकुला ॥ ५ ॥
सुमनानालिकाजातिजपाचपकपाटलैः ।
करवीराशोककुदकर्णिकारै स्वयंभुकै. ॥ ६ ॥
पुंनागकेतकी झिंटी बकुलैर्भूमिचंपकै. ।
मेवंतिकार्कजलजसरोजै कंदुकैरपि ॥ ७ ॥
आम्रैराम्रातकोर्निंबो निचुलैर्वंजुलैरपि ।
कदब. कर्णिकारैश्च वटाश्च पाटुनैरपि ॥ ८ ॥

करकैर्बदरीवृन्दैः करीरैश्चारुपीलुकैः ।
वधुलैश्चदनै रक्तचंदनै कृष्टचदनै ॥ ९ ॥
वानस्पत्यैरनेकैश्च वनस्पतिगणैरपि ।
पलाशैर्नव्यलतिका कलितैर्ललितैरलं ॥ १० ॥
ववर्ति त्रिपथा तीरे मंदमारुतवीजिते ।
तस्यां महासिद्धिधर सर्वसिद्धजनप्रिय ॥ ११ ॥
तेजसा भानुसदृशश्चतुर्मुख इवापर ।
वेदान्वदन्वावदूकः सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारग ॥ १२ ॥
...द्वागमरहस्यज्ञ· प्रज्ञावान्प्राज्ञसंमत. ।
जनयन्दोषमरणं जनाना स्वीयदर्शनै ॥ १३ ॥
ब्रह्मश्रियावृतो दाता शांतः क्षान्तो धृतव्रत. ।
ऊर्ध्वरेता ब्रह्मचर्यचर्यावानार्यसमत ॥ १४ ॥
आर्याभक्ताव्यक्तमतिर्मंत्रयन्त्रप्रवर्तक ।
महासत्त्वोतिगंभीरस्तत्त्ववित्तत्त्वदर्शक ॥ १५ ॥
अध्यात्मवक्ता साधूनां समत सुजनप्रिय ।
अष्टांगयोगकुशलो नि सगो निर्मम कृती ॥ १६ ॥
निर्वाणपदवीमिच्छन्वद्धपद्मासन सुधी ।
चतु षष्टिकलाभिज्ञो ज्ञानविज्ञानपारगः ॥ १७ ॥
शुक्लांवरधर शुक्लचदनेनानुलेपित ।
शिवयो· सामरस्यानि चिते समनुचिन्तयन् ॥ १८ ॥
कृपाकटाक्षविभवैरुद्धरन् शिष्यमडल ।
अनुग्रहाय जगतां विग्रही बत शंकर ॥ १९ ॥
भ्रमन्गुरुस्वरूपेण जगत्यां सत्यसश्रय ।
सत्यव्रत. सत्यतपा· सत्यवाक्यपरायण ॥ २० ॥
अनतकुलधर्माणां मर्मज्ञश्चारुकर्मकृत् ।
जाटिल· शकर इव समदृष्टिर्मुकुदवत् ॥ २१ ॥
वशिष्टवत् शिष्टतमो विशिष्टचरितेष्टद· ।
भ्रष्टदुर्जनसंल्लापविवर्जनपरो यमी ॥ २२ ॥
निरजनो निराकांक्ष सत्पक्षो भव्यलक्षणः ।
अक्षोभ्यहृदयोमायाविमुक्तो विगतालस ॥ २३ ॥
हरन्सुदूरे विपयान् विश्वामित्र इवापर. ।
मित्रामित्रौ समौ पश्यन्यशस्य सिद्धसमत ॥ २४ ॥
प्रात प्रशस्य प्रथितनामा कामप्रपूरक ।
साधकाना समुदितारह्लाद सादविनाशन ॥ २५ ॥
अनंतपुण्यफलदचरितव्रतमडल ।
अत्रेर्विचित्र चरित वहन्विगतसाध्वस ॥ २६ ॥

पिशंगचारुविलसज्जटाजूटो दृढाशय ।
मितवक्ता मिताहारो मितहासो मितोद्यम ॥ २७ ॥
मितश्रमिर्मिताकांक्षी मिततृट् मितवोपभृत् ।
मिताकल्पचमत्कारो मितविस्मयहर्षुल ॥ २८ ॥
किंचिद्भ्रूभगविक्षेपपरिप्लिष्टो हितावलिः ।
अहंकारहितोऽसाढ्ढी बाललीलां समावहन् ॥ २९ ॥
वैराग्ययुक्तोपि महाभाग्यसौभाग्यदायक ।
दुर्भाग्यदमनोपायोदङ्मार्गाद्वनिता हरन् ॥ ३० ॥
कृतार्थं सिद्धिकामाना प्रकामनियमोज्ज्वल ।
कश्चित्सिद्ध श्रीः स..... सर्वेषां श्रुतिमागतः ॥ ३१ ॥
महानिर्वाणपदवीं मृगयश्चित्रलीलया ।
आसीदासीमधरणीवलये लयपण्डितः ॥ ३२ ॥
शिवयोगी नाम कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणश्चित्तपावन. ।
निशम्य तस्य सिद्धस्य चरितं परमाद्भुतं ॥ ३३ ॥
हित्वा कोंकणक देश तं देश समुपस्थित. ।
गुरुत्वेनाशु त सिद्ध वरयामास सुव्रत. ॥ ३४ ॥
शिष्यत्वेनाथ सोप्येनमग्रहीद्गम्यविग्रहे ।
शुभग्रहै· परिवृते कस्मिंश्चिदपि वासरे ॥ ३५ ॥
उक्ते मासि तिथौ स्वर्तौ प्रवृत्तेश्चोत्तरायणे ।
कृत्वाकुरार्पणं वास्तुपूजन च यथाविधि ॥ ३६ ॥
हुत्वाग्नौ ब्राह्मणां नत्वा स्तुत्वा स्वाभीष्टदेवतां ।
ध्यात्वा स्मृत्वा स्वपितरावाचार्यकुलकामिनी. ॥ ३७ ॥
नन्दिनीप्रमुखा गाव. कुलाद्रीन्तुरगाधिपान् ।
विधीन्ससागरान्कल्पवृक्षाश्चदनदीचयान् ॥ ३८ ॥
अभिवन्द्य गणेशान वंदुकं योगिनीगणं ।
नरेशान्पुण्यचरित्रानाकीर्त्यसुरनायकान् ॥ ३९ ॥
अध्वपट्कं विशोध्याशु ससिद्ध. सिद्धसमत. ।
पुण्याहं वाचयित्वोच्चैर्वाद्यघोषपुर सर ॥ ४० ॥
कौशेयेन नवीनेन बंधयित्वा विलोचने ।
शिवस्य स्वीयशिष्यस्य दीक्षापट्क विधाय च ॥ ४१ ॥
वोमरोधमयीं दीक्षां सत्तमा पर्यकल्पयत् ।
पूर्वाम्नायमयोद्यार्य पूर्वकुंभैः सुशोभनै. ॥ ४२ ॥
स्नपयामास विधिवद्देवतामंत्रमुच्चरन् ।
ससिद्धः सर्वसिद्धानां प्रथमो गोरक्षो यथा ॥ ४३ ॥

आहृत्य दक्षिणान्कुंभान्दक्षिणाम्नायमुत्तमं ।
स्नपयन्कथयामास दत्तात्रेय इवापर ॥ ४४ ॥
पाश्चिमान्कलशान्गृह्य पश्चिमाम्नायजान्मनून् ।
अभिषिंचन्नकथयत् तथा रैवतको यथा ॥ ४५ ॥
नेति नेति नेतीति यत्परं श्रुतयो वदन् ।
अनुत्तरं तथाम्नायं शिववन्निजगाद स ॥ ४६ ॥
पूर्णदीक्षां विधायेत्थमागमोक्तेन वर्त्मना ।
सांप्रदायं स्वकं प्रोच्य दृष्टिवधं विसृज्य च ॥ ४७ ॥
निजक्रमागतं कंचिद्गुरुक्रममथादिशत् ।
येन शिष्यस्य परमा सिद्धिर्भवति सर्वत ॥ ४८ ॥
आद्यंतद्वारनाथार्णे गृहीत्वातिमनोरमम् ।
शिष्यस्य कल्पयामास ससिद्धोनामसंभ्रमात् ॥ ४९ ॥
तेन दीक्षाप्रभावेण सशिवो ब्राह्मणाग्रणी ।
योगीति ख्यातिमगमत्सिद्धिपारमुपागत ॥ ५० ॥
शिवयोगी ततस्तत्र बहुकाल गुरोर्गृहे ।
तोषयामास विधिवत्तस्य प्रियतमान्परान् ॥ ५१ ॥
प्रगल्भोदारसेवाभिराराध्यगुरुमादरात ।
अलभच्छिवयोगी स. सिद्धिकामपि सुव्रत ॥ ५२ ॥
प्रसन्नचेता सततं स्तुवन्ध्यायन्जपन्नमन् ।
सिद्धस्य चरितं किंचिच्छिवयोगी पपाठ स ॥ ५३ ॥
इत्थ भक्तिभर ज्ञात्वा ससिद्ध शिवयोगिन ।
आज्ञापयामास चिरं ब्रह्मचर्यव्रत चर ॥ ५४ ॥
पाणिग्रह क्वचिदपि मा कुरुष्व व्रतेच्छया ।
शिष्यत्वेन नराधीश योगिन्मा वृणु सर्वथा ॥ ५५ ॥
योगी सुसिद्धसिद्धस्य वचो निशम्य .
विद्योतद्ब्रह्मवर्चोः परिचरिततपा भावयन्मंत्रजातं
पश्यन्क्षेत्राणि नानारसभरभरितः पर्यटन्तीर्थपक्ती ।
प्रेम्णा शृंगारपुर्यां व्यरचदथमठीं कोंकणे क्रूरदेशे
वस्तु योगी प्रसिद्धस्तदनुनुतगुण सन्निवास चकार ॥

. . . .

मदाज्ञया त्रिपुरजित् तव पुत्रो भविष्यति ।
भूभारस्यापि सहार करिष्यति न सशय ॥ ७५ ॥
तारयिष्यति भूदेवान् दु खपकादतद्रित ।
मर्दयिष्यति दुष्टौघान् निर्जरान्स्थापयिष्यति ॥ ७६ ॥

रक्षयिष्यति धेनूनां गणान्यवनहस्ततः ।
श्रीकृष्ण इव तेजस्वी वधूरानन्दयिष्यति ॥ ७७ ॥
संस्थापयिष्यति मुदा धर्मं शर्मसमन्वितः
आह्लादयिष्यति धनै क्रूरकोंकणजाचरान् ॥ ७८ ॥
धुरंधरान्राजकृत्ये नवीनान्कल्पयिष्यति ।
स्वपूजाया व्रताभक्तिं धरिष्यति न संशय ॥ ७९ ॥
सौरान् शाक्तान् गाणपत्यान् शैवानावर्जयिष्यति ।
अर्चन बालकृष्णस्य प्रेम्णा परिकरिष्यति ॥ ८० ॥
तान्त्रैः साम महामायो बहुकाल चरिष्यति ।
आचरिष्यति सौम्यः सन्नेकछत्राधिपत्यतां ॥ ८१ ॥
निरंतरं वनेतीव पापध्वंर्यर्थमटिष्यति ।
स्वमतेनैव सर्वाणि कार्याण्याकल्पयिष्यति ॥ ८२ ॥
महानंदभराविष्ट. सदैव विहरिष्यति ।
वारयिष्यत्यरिष्टानि दूरादेव गतस्पृह. ॥ ८३ ॥
अतः सुतार्थं राजेन्द्र चिंता मा कुरु कर्हिचित् ।

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10. The Date of the Kāyasthaparabhūdharmādars'a of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri and Identification of its Author in contemporary Records *

Aufrecht [1] mentions some works about the Parabhūs [2] among which he mentions a work called *Parabhū-prakaraṇa* by one Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri,[3] of

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* *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras, Vol. XIII, Part II, April–June 1939.

1 *Cata. Catalo I, p. 324* – "परभूजातिनिर्णय, on the origin of a caste called परभू — BP 299. परभूप्रकरण by नीलकण्ठसूरि—Khn. 76, and by बावदेव अटले—Khn. 76." *II, 72* — "परभूप्रकरण on the origin and tenets of the परभू caste descended from the Kāyasthas written under king Śāhurāj, son of Śambhurāj of the Bhonsla family. The anonymous author refers to Bābdeva Āṭale (q. v.) L. 4199 "

The B. O R Institute (Limaye Collection acquired in 1938) contains a MS called परभूप्रकरण (folios 16) In the Govt. MSS Library there is another MS of परभूप्रकरण No 567 of 1883–84 acquired by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar from the Maratha country.

2 *Vide* article on प्रभु in the महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश (by S V. Ketkar), Vol. XVII, (1925) प - 242–248 The total population of this Kāyastha Prabhu caste in the whole of India may come to about 30,000 The Mahārāstra historian Rajwade (*Khaṇḍa* VI) records in all 9 *grāmaṇyas* about the Prabhu caste. Dates of some of these disputes —*Śaka* 1391 (A. D *1469*) , *Śaka* 1591 (A. D *1669*), *Śaka* 1597 (A D *1675*), *Śaka* 1669 (A. D *1747*); *Śaka* 1714 (A. D *1792*), *Śaka* 1745 (A. D. *1823*)

3 The adopted son of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri Thatte was married to the daughter (Tai) of Sardār Bālāji Nārāyana Nātū in A. D. *1818.* (*Vide* p. 123 of *Thatte Kula–vrttānta,* Poona, 1936.) This Sardār Bālājipant Nātū was associated with the *Kāyastha Prabhu* dispute of Śaka 1745 (=A. D *1823*). It is possible to suppose that Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri composed his कायस्थ-परभूधर्मादर्श in connection with the dispute of *1823* A D to vindicate his relative's (Bālājipant's) position against the Kāyastha Prabhus. If this inference is correct the *date of* कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श *must lie between A. D. 1823 and A. D 1827,* the date of the MS of this work.

which he records only one Ms *viz*, "Khn 76." Prof. P. V. Kane also mentions the work "परभुप्रकरण by Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri" in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* [1] along with other works regarding the Parabhu caste and the Kāyasthas [2]. I am not aware if Aufrecht or Prof. Kane had examined an actual MS of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri's work, which they have designated "परभूप्रकरण." Recently I came across a MS [3] of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri's work called "कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श" I have no doubt that this work is identical with the परभुप्रकरण of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri mentioned by Aufrecht and Kane. I propose, therefore, to describe it and present some data gathered from it with a view to studying and recording some historical information gathered from contemporary available records [4] about the date of the author and his literary activity.

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1 Vol. 1 (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1930), p. 577— "परभुजातिनिर्णय. परभुप्रकरण by नीलकण्ठसूरि. परभूप्रकरण by वासुदेव अटले.

परभुप्रकरण by गोविन्दराय (Mitra's *Notices*, X, p. 296.) About 1740-49 A. D during the reign of Shahu, grandson of Shivaji. When Balaji Bajirao was Peshwa गोविन्दराय was राजलेखक and a favourite of Shahu, refers to वासुदेव अटले as a hypocrite and a Karhāḍā Brahmin."

2 *Ibid*, p. 528 — Works about Kāyasthas: — कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप or -प्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट composed about 1647 A. D.

कायस्थपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर— Printed at Bombay, 1873, same as कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप. Baroda Oriental Institute MS is dated 1727 (1670-71 A. D). Ujjain MS No. 1097 is dated A D. *1743* (*Vide* List of 1936, p. 30). कायस्थक्षत्रियत्वद्रुमदलनकुठार by लक्ष्मीनारायणपण्डित. कायस्थतत्त्व, कायस्थनिर्णय, कायस्थविचार, कायस्थोत्पत्ति by गङ्गाधर.

The Govt. MSS Library (B O. R. I.) has a MS of कायस्थनिर्णय (No. 523 of 1883-84).

3 In the Limaye Collection of MSS acquired by the B. O. R. Institute in 1936 from Mr. Shambhurao Govind Limaye of Ashte (Dist. Satara), a second copy of this work is also found and is dated A. D. 1827. It is copied by जयदेव son of सखो अनन्त लिमये as the following colophon shows.— *Folio 12* — "शके १७४९ सर्वजित् संवत्सरे लिमयोपाख्यसखाराम सूनुना जयदेवाख्येन लिखितोऽयं कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श ॥"

4 Some of these records are found in the *History of the Thatte Family (Thatte Kula vrttānta)* by P. V. Thatte and V. N Thatte, Poona, 1936 — *Vide* pp. 6–25, which contain historical documents about the Thatte

The Limaye MS of कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श (folios 8) contains the following references to Persons, Places, Works etc.—

आर्यावर्त्त, 7
उद्योत (=दिनकरोद्योत), 7
(Begun by दिनकर and finished by गागाभट्ट)
कमलाकर, 1, 2, 4, 7
काम्बोज, 4, काम्बोजा , 4
कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श, 1, 7
कायस्थपरभूधर्मा ,[1] 1

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family dated, A. D. 1718, 1735, 1743, 1748, 1767, 1769, 1770, 1773, 1775, 1777, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1787, 1795, 1796, 1798, 1807, 1808, 1813, 1816, 1818, 1830, 1831, 1838, 1858. In all 36 documents are recorded. The author of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श is identical with नीलकण्ठ विनायक थथे or थत्ते mentioned in some of the above mentioned documents. His descendants are still living in Poona (*Vide* pp. 52–53). A brief genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri may be recorded here —

केशव—गोपाळ—विश्वनाथ—नारायण—विनायक—नीलकण्ठशास्त्री
(A D. 1775 . 1783) (A D 1772) (Died 1834 A. D)

In *Document No. 9* dated *20th October 1775* our author's grand–father is referred to as follows —

" वे रा नारायेणभट विन विस्वनाथभट ईविन गोपाळभट उपनाम थथे गोत्र शाण्डिल्य सूत्र अस्वलायेन जोतिषी व उपाध्ये मौजे विवली ता हवेली हमजावाद ता अजनवेला हाली वास्तव्य कसबे पुणें ".

Our author's father विनायकभट was a फडणीस *of* शिरेपरगणा in *the* Karnāṭak (*Document No 10* dated *A D. 1777).* He is mentioned in *Document No. 30* of *A. D. 1816.* The marriage of our author's adopted son is referred to in *Document No 31* of *A. D. 1818* (from Bālāji Nārāyana Nātū to Mount Stuart Elphinstone) *Document No. 32* dated *17th January 1830* records the grant (of village कोलघर to our author " नीलकण्ठशास्त्री विनायक-भट थथे ") from Raghoji Āngre. *Document No. 33* dated *7th January 1831* records a grant of land to our author. *Document No 34* dated *26th July 1838* records a grant of land to our author's son नारायणशास्त्री नीलकण्ठशास्त्री थथे. This नारायणशास्त्री was the eldest son of नीलकण्ठ's cousin मोरशास्त्री. नारायण was adopted as son in A. D. 1815 by नीलकण्ठ as he had no issue (p. 123 of *Thatte History).*

1 *Vide* article on कायस्थ in the महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश, Vol X, (क-३८९ to ३९२) The term कायस्थ is found in a Malwa inscription of A D. 738–39 In an inscription *of* A. D. 987, *the term* कायस्थ is used. In the Sivalik

Stone pillar inscription at Delhi of A. D. 1184 the term कायस्थ has been used as a caste-name.

1 Viśveśvara alias गागाभट of Benares composed a work called शिवार्कोदय, (*Vide* Peterson's *Cata. of Ulwar* MSS, pp. 37–38) by order of Shivaji (" तस्याज्ञया छत्रपते. शिवस्य ") Vide pp. 223–225 of the शिवचरित्रप्रदीप (B I S Mandal, Poona, 1925) Aufrecht (C. C. II, 139) states that Gāgābhaṭṭa composed in Śaka 1603 (A D. 1681) a work called समयनय on *dharma* for Shivaji's son Sambhāji and a MS of this work is at Florence (Italy). He officiated at the coronation of Shivaji in A. D. 1674 MS No. 9670 in Baroda Ori Institute shows that Gāgābhaṭṭa composed his कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप in Śaka 1599 = A. D. 1677 (*Vide* Kane. *His. of Dh.* I. p 712). The Marathi Bakhar शिवदिग्विजय (Baroda, 1895) describes गागाभट्ट as महा-समर्थब्राह्मण, तेजोराशी, तपोराशी, अपरसूर्य, साक्षात् वेदो नारायण, महाविद्वान् (p. 410). *Vide* p. 311 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश (1937).

2 According to *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* the Cāndrasenīya Kāyasthas originated from a Kṣatriya king चन्द्रसेन, who was killed by Paraśurāma. The widow of चन्द्रसेन who was pregnant at the death of her husband went to the hermitage of दाल्भ्य sage. Paraśurāma agreed not to molest her on condition that this would-be son of चन्द्रसेन should not behave as a Kṣatriya. The sage agreed to this condition and the son born of the widow of चन्द्रसेन was brought up by the sage and he pursued the profession of a scribe. The descendants of this son of चन्द्रसेन came to be called Cāndrasenīya Kāyasthas.

3 खण्डो बल्लाळ चिटणीस who accompanied Rājārāma Chatrapati to Jinji in A. D. 1690 was a चैत्रगुप्तकायस्थ. Keśava Paṇḍita refers to him as follows in verse 22 of Sarga IV of his राजारामचरित.—

" खण्डोबल्लाळमुख्याश्च कायस्थाश्चित्रगुप्तजाः ।
चन्द्रसेनान्वयाश्चान्ये श्रीदाल्भ्यकृतगोपनाः ॥ २२ ॥"

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1 In a MS of *Siddhāntavijaya* composed at Benares for Rājā Pratāpasimha of Satara about A D 1839 I find a quotation from a work शतप्रश्नकल्पलता by माधव dealing with शालिवाहनशकोत्पत्ति (36 verses). It begins on folio 64 of the B. O. R. I. Copy (No. 8 of 1937–38) as follows —

" यथा माधवकृत शतप्रश्ने—
शालिवाहनस्य उत्पत्तिं प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः ।
पुरा क्षेत्रे प्रतिष्ठाने विप्रोऽभूत्कौशिकान्वये ॥ १ ॥ "

The quotation ends—

" अङ्कसर्पेन्दुरामाख्ये (३१७९) जाते युगचतुर्थके ।
शालिवाहनसंज्ञश्च प्रतिष्ठाने तु राजभाक् ॥ ३६ ॥
इति माधवकृत शतप्रश्नकल्पलताया शालिवाहनशकोत्पत्ति प्रश्नश्चत्वारिंश ॥ ४० ॥ "

Another quotation of 23 verses occurs on folios 68–69.

2 Ed. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1895. The *S'ūdrakamalākara* by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa is a standard treatise on the duties of Śūdras. In the *Śūdrakamalākara* the author refers to his *Nirṇayasindhu* composed in A D. 1612 (20th February) Gāgābhaṭṭa (1674 A. D) was the nephew of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (*Vide* p. 437 of Kane's *History of Dharma*. Vol I, 1930).

3 Possibly identical with a work of this name by कृष्णशेष, son of नृसिंहशेष composed by order of पिलाजीनृप son of केशवदास, B. O. R. I. MS No. 50 of 1872–73 of this work was copied at Cambay on *4th March*, 1591. It is mentioned in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण (Between 1520-1590 A. D.). *Vide* p 641 of Kane *History of Dharma*, *I*).

4 Sakhopant Ananta Limaye (A. D 1800 to about A. D. 1840) was a contemporary of our author Nīlakaṇṭha Vināyaka Thatthe (died A. D. 1834). The MS of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श belonging to Sakhopant is dated A. D. 1827. In a letter in Modī script (*Limaye Family Papers* No. 3 with me) dated A. D. 1827 our author is referred to as " वेदशास्त्रसपन्ननीलकण्ठशास्त्री थथे ". Sakhopant had a passion for collecting and preserving many Sanskrit MSS as is evident from the number of about 450 MSS preserved and

(*Continued on the next page*)

सगर, 4
सगरचरित, 7
सह्याद्रिखण्ड, 1
सहदेव, 7
सिंधु, 2, सिंधुतीर, 1
स्कान्दे (रेणुकामाहात्म्ये,) 3
स्कान्द (पुराण), 7
हरिवंश, 4, 6
शके १७४८=A. D. 1827, the date of the copy of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श

The Limaye MS of the *Kāyastha-parabhū-dharmādarśa* analysed above begins as follows —

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः
॥ अथ कायस्थपरभूधर्माः ॥
प्रणम्य परमात्मानं नीलकण्ठो विचक्षण ।
थत्योपनामक सूरिर्विनायकतनूद्भव. ॥ १ ॥
त्र्यम्बकादिगुरून्नत्वा सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारगान् ।
सता मन प्रमोदाय दुर्मदोन्मादशान्तये ॥ २ ॥
भगवद्व्यासतात्पर्यं तदुक्त्यै (च) प्रकाशयन् ।
कायस्थपरभूयोग्यधर्मादर्शं करोम्यहम् ॥ ३ ॥
तत्रैक कायस्थः सकलनिबन्धादिग्रन्थेषु प्रदर्शित. " etc.

The foregoing introductory verses clearly indicate (1) the correct title of the work (which is " कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श " and not परभूप्रकरण) as also (2) the name and surname of our author (*viz.* नीलकण्ठ विनायक थत्ते) The guru

(*Continued from the previous page*)
added to by his descendants. Many of these MSS were got copied by Sakhopant between *A. D* 1800 and 1840. Sakhopant being a lover of Sanskrit learning must have been in close contact with our author Nīlakaṇṭha Vināyaka Thatthe —

According to *Thatte Family History*, Nīlakaṇṭha S'āstri was sent to Benares for education by the celebrated *nyāyādhīśa* of the Peshwa period, Rāmaśāstrī Prabhuṇe, who died in 1789 A. D We have elsewhere stated A. D. 1780 or so as the probable date of Nīlakaṇṭha's birth. If the above statement in the *Thatte History* is correct we may have to push back this probable birth date of Nīlakaṇṭha, say up to A. D. 1775 or so to enable us to presume that he was about 14 years of age at the time of Rāma Śāstri's death in A. D. 1789 Rāma Śāstri held the office of *Nyāyādhīśa* for the last time for 12 years between A D. 1777 and 1789 at the request of Nana Fadnis. It is possible to suppose that Nīlakaṇṭha may have been sent to Benares at Peshwa's expense between A. D. 1785 and 1789.

of our author mentioned in verse 2 above is त्र्यम्बक [1] who remains to be identified.

The Ms ends as follows —

"इति थत्थोपनामक विनायकसूनुनीलकण्ठसूरिणा विरचितकायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्शः समाप्त ॥

श्री गजाननसुप्रसन्न शके ॥ १७४८ सर्वजिन्नामसंवत्सरे भाद्रपदकृष्णाष्टम्यां गुरुवासरे थत्थोपनामकविनायकसूनुनीलकण्ठसूनुना (सूरिणा) विरचितकायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श समाप्त. ॥

इदं पुस्तकं सखोपन्त उपनामक लिमये अष्टेकर स्वार्थं परोपकारार्थं लिखितं ॥ श्री सांब ॥"

The MS described above was copied in A. D. 1827 for Sakhopant Limaye of Ashte as stated in the colophon reproduced above Sakhopant's son Jayadeva prepared another copy of this very work in A. D 1827 which also we find in the Limaye collection

Nīlakaṇṭha Vināyaka Thatthe, the author of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श, represented by 2 MSS in the Limaye collection has already been identified by me with Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri Vināyaka Śāstri Thatte mentioned in the *Thatte Family History* (*vide* footnotes to the early portion) The chronology of the author from his grandfather to his son may be briefly recorded below.—

A. D.	Reference.
1775-1783	Nārāyana, the grandfather of our author living.
C. 1775	Probable date of birth of our author (= N)
1777	N's father Vināyaka was acting as Phadnīs.
Before 1789	Rāma Śāstri Prabhuṇe sends N to Benares for education.
1815	N adopts as son his nephew Nārāyana, the son of his brother Mor Śāstri
1818	Marriage of N's adopted son with the daughter of Sardar Bālājipant Nātu.
1827	Date of the MSS of N's work कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श
,,	N mentioned in a letter addressed to Ṣakhopant Limaye.
1830	Grant of a village to N.
1831	Grant of some land to N.
1834	*Death of N.*
1838	Grant of land to N's son Nārāyaṇa.

The occasion when the *Kāyastha-parabhū-dharmādarśa* may have been composed by the author is furnished by the *Parabhū-grāmanya* of

1 In the *Thatte History* (p 122) one त्र्यम्बकशास्त्री शाळिग्राम (मीमांसक) has been mentioned as the disciple of our author. The statement needs to be verified.

A. D. 1823, with which Sardar Bālājipant Nātu [1] was closely associated. It would be reasonable to presume that Bālājipant should find in his relative Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri [2] a protagonist of the position taken by him against the Prabhus [3]. If this presumption is correct the date of the present work would lie *between A. D.* 1823 *and* 1827, the year in which two MSS of the work were got copied by the members of the Limaye family.

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1 Vide *Peshwa Daftar Selections* No. 42, ed. by G. S. Sardesai (1934), pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, 25, 54, 83, 85, 86, 101, 107. On p. 25 we have a reference to the request made by Bālājipant to Pratap Singh, the Raja of Satara (17th July 1819) that the Raja should show to Grant Duff all papers to help him to write an authentic history of the Marathas.

2 *Ibid*, p. 22—Pratapa Singh records in his Diary under date *25th July, 1819*, some conversation between one नीलकण्ठशास्त्री and Grant Duff on Hindu Customs ("नीलकण्ठशास्त्री व ग्रोट याचे बोलणे शास्त्राचे हिंदचे चालीचे"). I am inclined to identify this नीलकण्ठशास्त्री with the author of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श, as we know from the *Thatte Family History* that our author was given as an assistant to the judge at the Adālat Court at Satara by Bālājipant Nātu. On pp. 40-41 we have a proclamation about the Vishrambag Palace Pāṭha-Śālā dated *21st Sept. 1819*, providing for instruction in व्याकरण and other *Śāstras*. I wonder if our author, who was proficient in grammar had anything to do with this Pāṭha-Śālā. This point is worth investigating.

3 *See* Rajawade *Sources of Maratha History*, Khaṇḍa, VI, p. 523.

11 Upaniṣadbrahmayogin and Haṭhayogapradīpikā *

The *Muktikopaniṣad* [1] appears to be the only *Upaniṣad*, which enumerates the 108 *Upaniṣads* This number includes 20 *Upaniṣads*, [2] which treat of yoga and a study of which is essential for all students of the history of the yogaśāstra. The only commentary by a single author on the 108 Upaniṣads is that of Upaniṣadbrahmayogin, published for the first time by the Adyar Library. This commentator closely follows the commentary of Śaṅkarācārya for such of these Upaniṣads as are commented on by the great Advaitin. His *advaitic* bias is further illustrated by the following explanation of the term हठ (in the expression हठयोग) in commenting on the 45th verse [3] of the *Yogatattvopaniṣad*, which describes a Yogī, who has attained *siddhi* or perfection, as follows —

> " नासौ मरणमाप्नोति पुनर्योगबलेन तु ।
> हठेन मृत एवासौ मृतस्य मरण कुतः ॥ ४५ ॥ "

The commentator explains this verse as under —

" मरणादे देहनिष्ठत्वेन योगिनो देहातीतत्वात्, " न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चित् " इति श्रुते । ब्रह्मातिरेकेण देहादिक नास्तीति बोध एव हठ, हठेन सम्यग्ज्ञानेन मृत एवासौ देह. "

We wonder if this equation " हठ = सम्यग्ज्ञान " would be acceptable to the students of Sanskrit philology as also of the *Yogaśāstra*.

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* *Yoga*, (*Bombay*), Vol *IV*, 35-37

1 *The Sāmānya Vedānta Upanishads*, Pub by Adyar Library, 1921 pp. 349-50 Verses 30 to 39 enumerate 108 Upanisads and this list is concluded by the remark —

" एवमष्टोत्तरशत भावनात्रयनाशम् । ज्ञानवैराग्यद पुसा वासनात्रयनाशनम् "

2 These 20 Upanisads have been published by the Adyar Library (1920) in a separate volume called *The Yoga Upanishads* with the commentary of the Upanishad-Brahma-Yogin, containing the following Upanishads —

(1) अद्वयतारकोपनिषत्, (2) अमृतनादोपनिषत्, (3) अमृतबिन्दूपनिषत्, (4) क्षुरिकोपनिषत्, (5) तेजोबिन्दूपनिषत्, (6) त्रिशिखिब्राह्मणोपनिषत्, (7) दर्शनोपनिषत्, (8) ध्यानबिन्दूपनिषद्, (9) नादबिन्दूपनिषत्, (10) पाशुपतब्रह्मोपनिषत्, (11) ब्रह्मविद्योपनिषत्, (12) मण्डलब्राह्मणोपनिषत्, (13) महावाक्योपनिषत्, (14) योगकुण्डल्युपनिषत्, (15) योगचूडामण्युपनिषत्, (16) योगतत्वोपनिषत्, (17) योगशिखोपनिषत्, (18) वराहोपनिषद्, (19) शाण्डिल्योपनिषत्, (20) हंसोपनिषत्

3 Yoga *Upanishads*, Adyar, 1920, p 400

Our commentator quotes from a treatise on the *Haṭhayoga* and calls it by the name हठतन्त्र in the following extract from his commentary on verse 73 of the *Brahmavidyopaniṣad* [1] :—

" यद्वा-गोशब्देन जिह्वोच्यते । तथा च हठतन्त्रे आम्नायते—" गोमांसं भक्षयेत् " इत्यंशविवरणे " गोशब्देनेरिता जिह्वा " इत्युक्तत्वात् "

In the above extract the commentator refers to two consecutive verses in a work on the *Hathayoga* (हठतन्त्रे). We have been able to identify these two verses in the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma. They are identical with verses 47 and 48 of the 3rd Chapter (तृतीयोपदेश) of this treatise [2] and read as follows —

" गोमांस भक्षयेन्नित्यं पिवेदमरवारुणीम् ।
कुलीनं तमहं मन्य इतरे कुलघातका ॥ ४७ ॥
गोशब्देनोदिता* जिह्वा तत्प्रवेशो हि तालुनि ।
गोमांसभक्षण तत्तु महापातकनाशम् ॥ ४८ ॥ "

(* Upaniṣadbrahmayogin uses the variant ईरिता for उदिता)

The manner in which two consecutive verses from the हठतन्त्र have been referred to by our commentator and their exact identification in the *Hathayogapradīpikā* in the same order appears to indicate that the हठतन्त्र referred to by our commentator is identical with the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma, a standard work on the Haṭhayoga. This conclusion of ours finds further corroboration in another reference to a ' हठयोगतन्त्र ' which is found in our commentator's explanation of verse 128 of the *Yogatattvopaniṣad* [3]. This verse reads as follows.—

" अमरीं य· पिबेन्नित्यं नस्य कुर्वन् दिने दिने ॥
वज्रोलीमभ्यसेन्नित्यममरोलीति कथ्यते ॥ १२८ ॥ "

This verse is identical with the following verse in the *Hathayogapradīpikā* [4] (verse 97 of तृतीयोपदेश)—

" अमरीं य पिबेन्नित्य नस्यं कुर्वन्दिने दिने ॥
वज्रोलीमभ्यसेत्सम्यक्साऽमरोलीति कथ्यते ॥ ९७ ॥ "

The only difference in the two verses quoted above is of the reading " नित्यम् " for " सम्यक्सा " but this is negligible. This identity of the two verses, one in the *Yogatattvopaniṣad* and the other in the *Haṭhayoga-*

1. *Yoga Upanishads*, Adyar, pp 264-65
2. *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, (T. P. H. Adyar) 1933, pp. 111-115.
3. *Yoga Upanishads*.
4. T. P. H *Edition*, p 141.

12. Date of Sabhāvinoda of Daivajña Dāmodara, A Protégé of King Śrīnivāsa Malla of Nepal *

Between A.D. 1657 and 1685

Aufrecht records the following works of *Dāmodara Daivajña* in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 151 —

> " दामोदर दैवज्ञ — षट्पञ्चाशिकाटीका quoted in the जातकपद्धति of केशव – Bhr, p 30
> सभाविनोद Oudh X, 26."

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report* for 1882–83 (Bombay, 1884), p. 30, describes a MS of *Jātakapaddhati* of Keśava of Nandigrāma and states that this Keśava wrote a commentary on this work. In this commentary he quotes दामोदर.

According to S. B. Dīksita (*History of Indian Astronomy*, Poona, 1896, p. 258) Keśava II (Father of Ganeśa Daivajña) lived about *Śaka 1418 (= A. D. 1496)*. This Keśava of A D. 1496 is the author of the जातकपद्धति, which is mentioned in a work called *Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa* composed in *Śaka 1493* (= A D. 1571) It appears from these facts that दामोदर mentioned by Keśava is earlier than A.D. 1500.

Dāmodara Daivajña, the author of the *Sabhāvinoda* is quite different from his namesake, quoted by Keśava in his *Jātakapaddhati* as I propose to show in this paper.

The only MS of the *Sabhāvinoda* recorded by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, is the following.—

> *Page 696* — " सभाविनोद on proper conduct in public assemblies by Daivajña Dāmodara, Oudh X, 26 "

The "*Oudh*" MS mentioned by Aufrecht is not accessible to me. My friend Mr B. L. Partudkar of Phulkalas (P. O Purna, N.S.R.) paid a visit to the B. O. R Institute and handed over to me a MS of *Sabhāvinoda* of Daivajña Dāmodara. This work appears to be identical with that mentioned by Aufrecht in the above entry.

I give below a critical analysis of this MS as the MS is rare and unknown to Sanskrit scholars. It begins as follows.—

* Prācyavāṇī, Vol. IX, Jan.-Dec. 1952, pp. 1-10.

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

वंदे श्रीढुंढिराजं तं दारिताखिलपातकम् ।
पार्वतीहृदयानद कमलादत्तमोदकम् ॥ १ ॥

पद्मासना पद्मदलायताक्षी वराभये या दधती कराभ्याम् ।
सा भारती मे हृदयारविंदे पादारविंदं विदधातु पूर्णम् ॥ २ ॥
विराजतेऽसौ भुवि सूर्यवंशो यस्मिन्बभूवुः प्रबला नृपालाः ।
मन्वादिका धर्मपराश्च यस्मिन्बभूव रामः क्षितिपालको यः ॥ ३ ॥

क्षीराब्धितुल्ये मनुजामरेज्ये महेंद्रमल्लो ह्यभवत्क्षितीशः ।
यदीयमुद्रास्तु महेंद्रमल्लीनाम्ना प्रसिद्धा धरणीतलेऽस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥
तस्यान्वये श्रीशिवसिंहनामा दिगंतकीर्तिः प्रथितो नृपालः ।
तस्मिन् नृपाले न बभूव लोको नेपालचक्रे कमलाविहीनः ॥ ५ ॥
वक्ष्ये यथार्थं धरणीतलेऽस्मिन्नेपालचक्रान्नहि चापरा भूः ।
संत्यक्तसर्वोऽपि च सर्वगोऽपि शर्वोऽपि यस्मिन् रमते सुखेन ॥ ६ ॥
यत उक्तं रसतरंगिण्याम् ॥
रुद्रक्रोधाद्दग्धदेहस्तु कामः प्रेतो भूत्वा पार्वतीमाविशत्स ।
कामाविष्टां प्रेक्ष्य शर्वो भवानीं गाढं बाढं पीडयंतीं स्वमंगम् ॥ ७ ॥
हिमाचलात्किंचिदिवावतीर्य नेपालखंडे बुभुजे कुमारीम् ।
सहस्रवर्षाणि ततोऽस्रपातो बभूव देव्याः प्रथमस्ततोऽभूत् ॥ ८ ॥
बलाढ्यशुल्वं रमणीप्रियाणामानंददं रोगविनाशहेतुः ।
रसायनादावपि योजनीयमन्यत्नवेज्जाड्यविदाहकारि ॥ ९ ॥
हिरण्यशृंगाःखलु यत्र संति देवालयाश्चित्रविचित्ररूपाः ।
गणेशदुर्गारविविष्णुरुद्रदेवालयाः सति पदे पदे च ॥ १० ॥
साक्षाद्दशमहाविद्याः सांगोपांगा सयन्त्रकाः ।
उपास्यन्ते साधकेन्द्रै नेपालात् किमतः परम् ॥ ११ ॥
जयति जयति काली यत्प्रसादात्कपाली
भवति सकलहारी...लदत्ततालि ।
जयति जयति भीमो द्रौपदीदत्तकाम.
सकलदुरितहारी भक्तकार्यैककारी ॥ १२ ॥
मत्स्येंद्रनाथो रमते च यत्र संत्यज्य सर्वान्निपयान्कृतार्थः ।
गुह्येश्वरी यत्र विराजते स्म वरप्रदात्री खलु साधकानाम् ॥ १३ ॥
साक्षात्पशुपतिर्यत्र तुलजा च विराजते ।
सर्गेश्वरश्च गरुडो नीलकंठो जलस्थित. ॥ १४ ॥
गोरक्षनाहस्य तपोनिधैव हित्वा सुतीर्थान्यमलोदकानि ।

नूनं प्रयातास्त्रिदशा समस्ता नेपालदेशे त्विति मे वितर्कः ॥ १५ ॥
न यत्र चाराः पिशुनास्तुरुष्का पाखंडिनो धूतरताश्च गोघ्ना· ।
न यत्र जायानर — वियोग सौराजते (?) स्वर्गपदप्रमेय· ॥ १६ ॥
तस्मिन्देशे शैलरुद्ध-मार्गे ललितपत्तनम् ।
दृष्ट्वा धर्मोऽवसत्तत्र कलिकालभियैव किम् ॥ १७ ॥
तत्पत्तनमहीपालः शिवसिंहो नृपोऽभवत् ।
तस्यात्मजोऽभूत्सकलगुणसंघस्य शेवधि ॥ १८ ॥
हरिहरसिंह इति प्रथितोऽभूद्धरिहरभक्तजनेषु वरेण्य ।
हरिहररूप उत स्वपरेषां हरिहरतागतसूर्यरुचिर्यः ॥ १९ ॥
तस्यात्मजः सिद्धनृसिंहनामाऽनवद्यविद्यानिपुणोऽतिशूर· ॥
धर्माननेकान् स धनेन साध्यान् कृत्वा स्वराज्य च ददौ सुताय ॥ २० ॥
हित्वा स्वराज्यं च स तीर्थयात्रां कर्तुं प्रतस्थे मुनिवेषधारी· ।
नेपालदेशं सकलं तत्त श्रीनिवासमल्लः खलु शास्ति सम्यक् ॥ २१ ॥
संप्रीणिता येन गजैश्च विप्रा गोभिर्धनैरश्ववरैश्च वस्त्रै ।
संप्रीणितोऽहं खलु तेन राज्ञा करोमि तस्यैव सभाविनोदम् ॥ २२ ॥
तस्मिन्निबंध क्रम एष उक्त आद्यो भवेद्ग्रंथमुखाधिकार ।
अन्योक्तयो दूषणभूषणानि स्याद्राजनीतिश्च रसाधिकार ॥ २३ ॥
सामुद्रिक ज्योतिषं वैद्यशास्त्र स्याद्धर्मशास्त्र च ततश्च योगः ।
सहस्रपद्यैर्ग्रथितो निबधो यस्कठग स्यात्स सभासु वक्ता ॥ २४ ॥"

The MS ends as follows —

"श्रीमन्महाराज-निवासमल्ल-सभाविनोदाय कृतो मयायम् ।
सभाविनोदोऽन्यसभासु लोका पठंति पाडित्ययशो लभंतु ॥ १०० ॥
श्रीढुंढिराजस्य पदारविंद मन्मानसे तिष्ठतु दीर्णदोषे ।
कृपाकटाक्षेण च यस्य पूर्णा रामापि रामेव गृह प्रयाति ॥ १ ॥

इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज-सिद्धनरसिंहसुतनेपालललितपत्तनेश्वर श्रीनिवासमल्ल-सभाविनोदे दैवज्ञदामोदरविरचिते योगाधिकारो दशमः पफाण ॥ वृत्तश्चाय सभाविनोद ॥ ग्रथसख्या १६३० ॥

सेके सभासे एकुनसाठ १७५९ हेमलवी नाम संवत्सरे उत्तरायणे शिशिरऋतौ फाल्गुण-कृष्ण-प्रतिपत्तिथौ इंदुवासरे तृतीयप्रहरे लिखितम् ।

श्लोकाना षोडशशतैर्युक्तोय ग्रंथनायक· ।
प्रकर्णैर्दशभिश्चापि कृतो दामोदरेण हि ॥
सभाविनोदनामेति प्रसिद्धो जगतीतले ।
लिखित पंचभिर्विप्रैरनताधेर्महात्मभि ॥

पुस्तकमिदं रामचंद्रभटपौराणिकस्य सागवीकरोपनाम्नरास्ते (?) श्रीरस्तु ॥"

References to works and authors mentioned in the MS. of *Sabhāvinoda* are as follows :—

रसतरंगिण्याम्—fol. 1; शिवः—fol. 2; नारायण —fol. 2, हलायुधः—fol. 2; भामहः—fol. 2; चाणक्यः--fol. 3, त्रिविक्रमभट्ट.—fol. 3, 4 (त्रिविक्रमः) ; बिह्लणः--fol. 3; सुबंधु --fol. 3; बाणभट्टः--fol. 3, शार्ङ्गधर—fol. 3, 4; श्रीधरदेवः--fol. 3; जयदेव--fol. 3, भर्तृहरिः--fol. 4; राघवचैतन्यः--fol. 4; भारविकवि.-- fol 4; भेरीभाकार— fol. 4. कृष्णमिश्रः--fol. 4; मम--fol. 4;

fol. 8 — Colophon of 1st Chapter called "ग्रंथमुखाधिकार"
fol. 13 — Colophon of 2nd Chapter called "अन्योक्ति"
fol. 19 — Colophon of 3rd Chapter called "दूषणभूषण"
fol. 24 — Colophon of 4th Chapter called "राजनीति"
fol. 30 — Colophon of 5th Chapter called "शृंगार"
fol. 36 — Colophon of 6th Chapter called "सामुद्रिक"
fol. 40 — Colophon of 7th Chapter called "ज्योतिषशास्त्र"
fol. 47 — Colophon of 8th Chapter called "वैद्यक"
fol. 53 — Colophon of 9th Chapter called "धर्मशास्त्र"
fol. 57 — Colophon of 1oth Chapter called "योग"

The titles of the different chapters mentioned in the above colophons are practically identical with the contents of the work given by the author in verses 23 and 24 at the beginning of the work.

From the extracts quoted above we get the following information about the author and his patron, for whom apparently the work *Sabhāvinoda* was composed —

(1) The author bows to god *Ḍhuṇḍhirāja* and goddess *Bhāratī* (verses 1 and 2).
(2) King *Mahendramalla* of Nepal was born in *Sūryavaṃśa*. His *mudrā* (seal) was known as "*Mahendramallī*" (verses 3 and 4).
(3) In his line was born *Śivasiṃha* (verses 5, 6).
(4) Description of Nepal and its temples of gods and goddesses *viz. Gaṇeśa, Durgā, Viṣṇu, Kālī, Bhīma, Matsyendranātha, Guhyeśvarī, Paśupati, Tulajā, Garuḍa, Nīlakaṇṭha, etc.* (verses 7-14).
(5) The author thinks that the gods of different places have gathered in Nepal and made it their home as it were out of fear of *Emperor Aurangzeb* (verse 15).
(6) In Nepal there is a town called "*Lalitapattana*". Its King was *Śivasiṃha*. His son was *Hariharasiṃha*. His son was *Siddhanṛsiṃha* (verses 16-20).

(7) *Siddhanrsimha* resigned the Kingship in favour of his son *Śrīnivāsamalla*" and went on a pilgrimage as an ascetic (verse 21).

(8) *Śrīnivāsamalla* pleased the Brahmins by his donations of wealth, elephants, cows, garments and horses. The author composed the *Sabhāvinoda* by the order of this King who pleased him (by his patronage) (verse 22).

(9) The work deals with ग्रंथमुखाधिकार., अन्योक्तयः, दूषणभूषणानि, राजनीति., रसः, सामुद्रिक, ज्योतिषं, वैद्यशास्त्र, धर्मशास्त्रं, and योग in 1,000 stanzas. Any one mastering this work can shine as a speaker in any assembly (verses 23–24).

(10) The author states that he composed this work *Sabhāvinoda* for the entertainment of the court of King *Śrīnivāsamalla* It would be useful to all persons who want to shine as pandits in other assemblies (verse 100).

(11) *Daivajña Dāmodara* composed this work for the Court of King *Śrīnivāsamalla*, the son of *Siddhanarasimha*, who ruled at *Lalitapattana* in Nepal, (Colophon).

(12) The MS was copied in *Śaka* 1759 (= A.D. 1837)—(Colophon).

(13) The work consists of 1600 *ślokas* and 10 *prakaraṇas*. Its author is *Dāmodara*. It was copied by five Brahmins, including Ananta. It belongs to *Rāmacandrabhaṭ*, *Paurāṇika*, *Sāngavīkar*. (Colophon).

As the Ms of the *Sabhāvinoda* before us is dated A D. 1837, we have to search for the chronology of its author and his royal patron *Śrīnivāsamalla* ruling at Lalitapattana in Nepal before A D. 1800 or so. The reference to " *Aurangaśāha* " or Aurangzeb by our author in verse 15 gives us the earlier limit to his date. Emperor Aurangzeb came to the throne in A.D. 1659 and died in A.D. 1707. We may, therefore, fix A D. 1659 as the earlier limit to the date of the *Sabhāvinoda* and its author *Daivajña Dāmodara*.

Some of the Inscriptions from Nepal published by Bhagavanlal Indraji in Vol IX of *Indian Antiquary* (1880) help us to identify King *Śrīnivāsamalla*, the patron of Daivajña Dāmodara. I note below the pertinent inscriptions and the data furnished by them pertaining to the Kings of Nepal mentioned in the *Sabhāvinoda* :—

Page 192—Inscription No 22 of *Śrīnivāsa*, dated Nepal *Samvat* 792 (= A.D. 1672).

Pages 192-193—Inscription No. 23 of Princess *Yogamati*, dated *Nepal Samvat* 843 (=A.D. 1723). This inscription gives us the following genealogy of the Kings who ruled at *Lalitapattana* in Nepal:—

सिद्धिनृसिंह मल्ल [King of Lalitapattana became an ascetic and went to dwell on the banks of Gaṅgā (Benares)].

|

Son

श्रीनिवास (ruling in A.D. 1672).

|

Son

योगनरेन्द्र मल्ल (went with his 21 wives to *Dolaparvata* and died in the temple of Viṣṇu).

|

Daughter

योगमती (Consecrated in *A.D.* 1723 a temple of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in memory of her son *Lokaprakāśa*).

|

Son

लोकप्रकाश (died before his mother *Yogamatī*).

Verses 3 and 4 of this inscription read as follows :—

"आसीत्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतिः सूर्यान्वये कीर्तिमान्
नेपाले ललिताभिधाननगरे पौरान् सदा पालयन् ।
गोपीनाथपदारविंदमधुपो वाचस्पतिर्द्धीवर
संसार जलबुद्बुदोपममसौ हित्वा गतो जाह्नवीम् ॥ ३ ॥ [1]
तस्यात्मजो भूपतिरेष जातः श्रीश्रीनिवासोऽतनुश्रीनिवासः ।
तापानलो वैरिमहीरुहाणां स राजतेऽतीव सुधाकरेव ॥ ४ ॥"

Pages 184-187—Inscription No 17 of *Siddhinṛsimha* of Lalitapattana, dated *Nepal Samvat* 757 (=*A.D.* 1637).

This inscription gives the following genealogy of the Kings of *Lalitapattana* in Nepal which may be linked up with that given in the inscription of A.D. 1723.—

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1 The last two lines of verse 3 of the Inscription of A.D 1723 corroborate the following lines in verses 20 and 21 of Sabhāvinoda :—

" तस्यात्मजः सिद्धनृसिंहनामानवद्यविद्यानिपुणोऽतिशूर
धर्माननेकान् स धनेन साध्यान् कृत्वा स्वराज्यं च ददौ सुताय ।
हित्वा स्वराज्यं च स तीर्थयात्रां कर्तुं प्रतस्थे मुनिवेषधारी ॥ "

हरिसिंह
|
महेन्द्रमल्ल
|
शिवसिंह
|
हरिहरसिंह (married to लालमती)
|
सिद्धिनृसिंह (ruling in *A D* 1637).

Inscription No 18 of Pratāpamalla of Kāṭmāṇḍu, dated *Nepal Saṃvat 769* (*=A. D. 1649*) states that he defeated the army of *Siddhinrsiṃha* and took his fortress (verse 5). Evidently *Siddhinrsiṃha* was ruling at the fort of Lalitapattana before A. D. 1649. His son *Śrīnivāsa* was ruling in *A. D 1672* (Inscription No. 22) Possibly *Siddhinrsimha* abandoned the Kingdom in favour of his son sometime between A. D. 1654 and A. D. 1661 as will be seen from the following dated coins of these Kings of Lalitapur noted by E. H. Walsh in his article on *Coinage of Nepal* (J. R. A. S. London, 1908, pp. 732–737).-

Date of Coin	*Name of King*	*Remarks*
A.D. 1631	*Siddhi Nrsimha.*	—N.S. 751.
„ 1654	—Do.—	—N S. 774.
„ 1661	*Śrīnivāsa Malla.*	—N.S. 781.
„ 1666	—Do.—	—N S 786.
„ 1688	*Yoga Narendra Malla*	—N,S. 808
„ 1686	—Do.—	—N S. 806.
„ 1685	—Do —	—N S 805.
„ 1687	—Do.—	—N.S 807.
„ 1700	—Do —	—N S. 820.
„ 1706	Indra Malla.	—N.S. 826.
„ 1707	*Yogamatī* and her son, *Loka Prakāśa Malla.*	—N S. 827.

I am concerned in this paper with the dates for *Śrīnivāsamalla*, the patron of Daivajña Dāmodara, and his father *Siddhinrsimha* as also his son *Yoga Narendra Malla.* I, therefore, put together below the dates for these rulers given in their *coins* and *inscriptions* :—

Siddhinrsiṃha	... ...	A D. 1631 (Coin).
		A D. 1637 (inscription).
		A D 1649 (inscription).
		A D 1654 (Coin)
S'rīnivāsa Malla	... ...	A D. 1661 (Coin)
		A D. 1666 (Coin)
		A D 1672 (inscription).
Yoga Narendra Malla	...	A D. 1685 (Coin).
		A D 1686 (Coin)
		A D 1687 (Coin)
		A D 1688 (Coin)
		A.D. 1700 (Coin)

The regnal period of *Śrīnivāsa Malla* must lie between *A D.* 1654, the last date for his father and *A.D. 1685*, the first date for his son in the above list of dates. Consequently the date of the *Sabhāvinoda* which was composed for Śrīnivāsamalla, while he was ruling, must lie *between A.D. 1654 and 1685.*

In the article on "*Some considerations on the History of Nepal*" by Bhagavānlāl Indraji, ed. by Buhler (Reprint from *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, 1885) we get the following information about the Kings of the Lalitapattana Line —

Pages 40-41 *Hariharasimha* (Younger son of *Śivasiṃha* of Kāntipur).

|

Son

Śiddhinrsimha (—built a palace at Lalitapura *A.D. 1620*.
—dedicated a temple to Rādhā-Krsna in *A.D. 1637*.
—made a water course in *A D. 1647*.
—became an ascetic in *A.D. 1657*).

|

Son

Śrīnivāsamalla (—Reigned from *A.D. 1657*
—had a war with Pratāpamalla of Kāṭmaṇḍu (*A D. 1658–1662*).
—His latest inscription is dated *A.D. 1701*).

|

Son

Yoganarendramalla (lost his son and became an ascetic).

According to the above information King *Siddhinrsimha* became an ascetic in A.D. 1657 and his son *Śrīnivāsamalla ruled* from *A D 1657*. In view of this date the regnal period of *Śrīnivāsamalla* lies between A.D. 1657 and A.D. 1685, the first date of the coin of *Yoganarendramalla* It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the *Sabhāvinoda* was composed for *Śrīnivāsamalla between A D. 1657 and A D. 1685* [1]

The rare MS of the *Sabhāvinoda* analysed in this paper is dated *Śaka 1759* (=*A D. 1837*). At the end of the MS there is a contemporary endorsement that it belonged to "*Rāmacandrabhaṭ Purāṇika Sāṅgavīkar.*" My friend Shri B L. Partudkar procured this MS from the present descendants of *Rāmacandrabhaṭ* now living at *Partuḍ* (Dist. Parabhani) in Hyderabad territory The genealogy of this family as supplied to me by Shri Partudkar is given in the *Appendix.*

The Purāṇik family of Partud originally belongs to the village *Joḍ-Sāṅgavī* on the banks of the river *Pūrṇā* Rāmacandra Purāṇik of this family was the first to migrate to Partuḍ and settle there. Both Rāmacandra and his son Pānduranga became *Sanyāsins* at the close of their lives and assumed the names *Rāmānanda* and *Īśvarānanda* respectively. They died at *Partuḍ*, where their *Samādhis* or tombs exist at present together with their busts made of brass Rāmacandra Purāṇik was possibly a contemporary of Raja Candūlāl, the then minister of the Nizam State. Shri Nāgūdeva, the present descendant of this family has in his possession a complete MS of the *Mahābhārata* copied in the life-time of Rāmacandra Purāṇik. This family has been enjoying the privilege of working as *Purāṇiks* in the *Nrsiṃha* temple at *Partuḍ* in a hereditary manner The family was also the owner of about 150 acres of land given as *inām* to it for its service as *Purāṇiks* in the Nṛsiṃha temple together with a cash annual allowance of Rs 150/–from Government The family enjoyed these privileges up to the time of Bālābhau, the father of Shri Nāgūdeva. At present the land referred to above is with the above family but Government charges land revenue for it. Mr. B. L Partudkar had an occasion to examine about 75 bundles of records of this family besides about 300 MSS in its possession These MSS were copied between Śaka 1602 (= A. D 1680) and Śaka 1802 (= A. D. *1880*) a period of 200 years. In some of these MSS the village *Partud* is mentioned as "*Praharāda-*

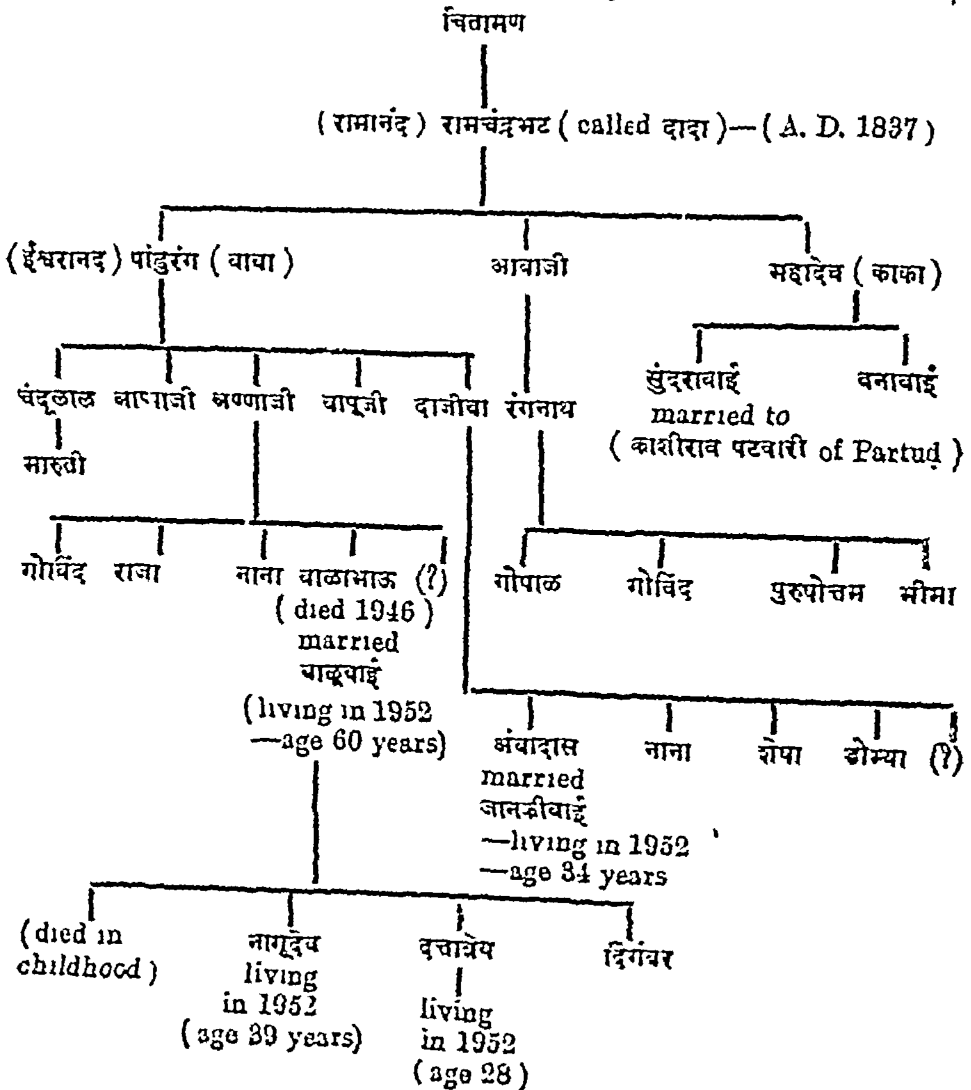
1 The latest inscription of *1701 A D* mentioned by Bhagvanlal Indraji for *Śrīnivāsamalla* needs to be reconciled with the coin of *Yoganarendra* dated *A.D 1685* Perhaps Śrīnivāsamalla abandoned the kingdom in favour of *Yoganarendramalla* sometime before A.D 1685 and continued to live as far as A.D 1701, the date of his inscription mentioned by Bhagavanlal Indraji

pūr." Rāmacandra Purāṇik calls himself "*Sāṅgavīkar*". He composed a Marathi prose commentary on *Saṭpañcāśikā*, a copy of which is in the possession of Shri B. L. Partudkar. The genealogy given above is perpared on the basis of records in the possession of the Purāṇik family.

I am thankful to Shri B. L. Partudkar and to Shri Nāgūdeva Purāṇik for keeping at my disposal the MS of the *Sabhāvinoda* and for supplying information about the *Purāṇik* family of *Partud*.

APPENDIX

Genealogy of the Purāṇik Family of Partuḍ (*Dist. Parbhaṇi*) *in Hyderabad territory*



13. Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa, a Court-Poet Of King Sambhāji And His Works : *

(1) Śambhurājacarita composed in A D. 1685; (2) Haihayendracarita and its commentary, (3) Subhāṣitahārāvali

I

The only Ms of *Śambhurāja-carita* by Harikavi recorded by Aufrecht [1] is " Report XIII " which is the same as No 191 of 1875-76 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R Institute, Poona. This Ms is fragmentary and incomplete but is historically very important as it is a poem of a very high order dealing with the life of the Maratha King Sambhāji, the son of Shivāji, the founder of the Maratha Kingdom in the Deccan. This Ms was acquired by Dr. Buhler in 1875 [2] from Surat. Unlike *Rājārāma-carita* [3] of *Keśavapaṇḍita* which bristles with the names of historical personages and events, the *Śambhurāja-carita,* judging from the fragment before us, is unfortunately lacking in historical details to such an extent that even the identity of Śambhurāja, the hero of the poem has got to be proved In fact my friend Mr V S. Bendre, who first studied this Ms in 1931 and whose zest for historical knowledge about King Sambhāji has led him to the establishment of an institution called *Sambhāji Caritra Kāryālaya* with the sole purpose of gathering materials for a historical biography of King Sambhāji, was disappointed in a further study of this fragment and consequently the fragment remains unnoticed since its acquisition in 1875 by Dr Buhler

I shall now proceed to show that King Śambhurāja, the hero of the poem, is none other than the renowned Sambhāji, son and successor of Shivāji the Great. This is clear from the following extracts culled at random from the fragment before us —

Shivāji is referred to in the following extracts —

folio 3—" इहासीद्वासीर रुचिरतनुभाजा त्रिभुवने ।

शिवाख्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकाद्भुतगुण. ।

.. . . ..etc. — सर्वंवनिता ॥ २४ ॥

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* *Annals* of the Bhandarkar O R. Institute, Poona Vol XVI, pp 262-291

1 *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, 637, 756

2 *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Mss*, p. 13.

3 Keśavapaṇḍita's Rājārāmacarita or Journey to Jinji edited by V. S. Bendre, 1931 (B I. S. Mandal, Poona, Granthamālā No. 36)

„ —"वदान्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूपाद्विजयते" ॥ २५ ॥

The parentage of Sambhāji from Shivāji is clear from the following —

folio 4 — " प्रदीपो दीपांगादिव गगनरत्नादिव महा-
महः पुंजः पद्मादिव परमसौरम्यनिवहः ॥
सुधांशुक्षीराब्धेरिव हरितरुर्नंदनवना- ।
दिवाय संभूतः किल शिवनृपाच्छंभुनृपतिः " ॥ २९ ॥

„ — " गुणानामाधारास्त्रिभुवनभयाना शिवभवो ।
यदेकोयं शंभुर्विलसति महीपालतिलकः ।
.... चमत्कारचतुरैः ॥ ३५ ॥ "

folio 79 — " रणांगणविसर्पिण. शिवभवस्य भूपेशितुः etc. "

folio 80 — " शिवोद्भवनृपोद्भतो "

We get a glimpse of Sambhāji's youthful person in the following verse —

folio 44 — " अस्मिन्काले कमलनयनः कोटिकंदर्पकांतो ।
नानाकल्पद्युतिपृथुवपुर्मत्तमातंगगामी ॥
शंभुर्लीलासचिवसहितो मंदहासोल्लसच्छ्रीः ।
शृंगाराख्यो रस इव चरन्राजमार्गं विवेश ॥ "

He is referred to as शंभु, शंभुनृपति and शंभुराज throughout the Ms.

The poem consisted of 12 sargas or cantos and it is really a great loss to literature that only about 2-3 cantos are available to us in the present fragment. Mr. Bendre has not been successful in his attempts to get a complete copy of the work The fourth canto deals with the poetic description of Sambhāji's marriage in quite a classical style and is concluded with the following colophon —

folio 53 — " इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते
विजयाके श्रीशंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये श्रीशंभुराजविवाहवर्णनो नाम
चतुर्थ. सर्ग समाप्त ॥ "

In the 4th canto Śambhurāja's bride is referred to as चंपा in the following verses:—

folio 49 — " चंपानाम्नीं रतिमिव जगन्मोहिनीं स्वां कुमारीं ।
वयानैषीद्रतिविलुलित सूर्यजासेवकोपि ॥ ९८ ॥ "

folio 49 — " चपाद्यपाद्युतिवितितिरस्कारिणी प्रादुरासीत् ॥ ९९ ॥ "

„ — " चपावस्या सदनमखिलं शोचिषा शोभयन्त्याः "

The following verse mentions the bestowal of चंपा in marriage to शंभु by her father "तपनजादास" who is mentioned in verse 98 quoted above as "सूर्यजासेवक":--

folio 53 — "पश्चात्तां समलंकृतां तपनजादासो ददौ शंभवे।
भूपायाशु सदक्षिण सुविधिना हर्षाश्रुमालाधरः॥
तंत्रज्ञोथश्चतुष्कमनयत्तौ दंपतीसुंदरौ।
लाजाहोमविधिं विधातुमुदितौ ज्योत्स्नाशशांकाविव॥ १३४॥"

" —"सख्यं साप्तपदीनमाहुरपि ये etc ॥ १३५॥"

The nuptials were celebrated at a city called variously as 'मिहिरनगर' or 'तपननगर' 'तपनपत्तन' सत्यादास was the अधिपति of the city and it was at his request that King शंभु proceeded to that city for his nuptials —

folio 42 — "सत्यादासोप्यथ नृपतये भूरिदायापि दत्वा।
तारं हार वलययुगलं नि प्रवाणिद्वयं च॥
आवासार्थं मिहिरनगराभ्यंतरे त ययाचे।
प्रौढप्रेमासकलपृतनासंयुत सौधराजौ॥ ३३॥"

People of the town gathered to have a look at King शंभु:—

folio 42 — "जग्मुर्वासोरुचिरतनव सर्वत प्रेक्षणार्थं।
लोका सर्वे नरपतिमणे सघश पण्यवीथ्या॥
संविभ्राणाश्चपलवपुष पाणिभिर्बालकान्स्वान्।
आधावतस्त्वरितमभितश्वासमुत्फुल्लनेत्रा.॥ ३५॥"

And ladies were not behind men in their curiosity to have a peep at the King Their hurried movements are described in the patent classical style. The following verse will serve as an example —

folio 44 — "भूपेक्षार्थं त्वरितगमनप्रोद्यता विद्युताभा-।
ऽशक्ता गंतुं चपलचरणन्यासमौत्सुक्यनुन्ना॥
काचित्स्थूलस्तनयुगभराक्रान्तिसस्तब्धचारं।
सारंगाक्षी पृथुलपृथुल स्वं नितंब निनिंद॥ ५५॥"

सत्यादास got down from his elephant and welcomed King शंभु —

folio 45 — "इत्थं यात मिहिरनगराभ्यंतरे शंभुराजं
सत्यादास सबहुविनयं सादर कुंजरेंद्रात्॥
उत्तार्याथो विपुललसितप्रांगणे सौधराज्या।
धृत्वा कांते करकिशलये प्राविशत्तन्निवेशं॥ ६७॥"

After the marriage King Śambhu starts on his return journey in a chariot accompanied by his bride चंपा:—

folio 78 — " उपेत्य शिबिरं निज सुभटराजिविभ्राजितं ।
नृपेंद्रमुकुट. स्वकं श्वशुरवर्गमाज्ञाप्य च ॥
श्लथद्‌हृदयपंकज प्रचलदश्रुनेत्राबुजं ।
चचाल चललोचना समुपवेश्य चंपां रथे ॥ २६ ॥ "

The Governor of तपनपत्तन accompanied the returning party for some distance but was asked by King Śambhu in touching words to return —

folio 71— " ततस्तपनपत्तनाधिपविमागत दूरतो ।
निवर्त्य मनुजेश्वरः सविनय ससैन्यं बलात् ।
रहस्यतितरां पिबन्वरतनोस्तनो रम्यतां ।
ततो बहुमुदान्वितो रमणमेतदूचे वच· ॥ ३० ॥ "

King Śambhu returned to his capital and passed a few days of happy *married life but shortly afterwards got the news of an enemy attacking* his capital and forces —

folio 74 — " ततः किल स सुश्रुवान्स्वनगरीमविन्याकुलाम– ।
रातिनिकरै कृतामवसर समासाद्य तं ॥
समेत्य सचिवै· सम वदनु मानसं भूपति– ।
दधार गुरुनोदितो निजवरूथिनी सज्जने ॥ ५८ ॥ "

Personal prowess of King Śambhu in the battle is described —

folio 76 — " मुहुर्मुहुरतिस्वनन्पृथुलमंडलेष्वासनो- ।
लयाबुद इवाद्भुवा बहलबाणवृष्टि सृजन् ॥
करांकुररस्फुरत्कचक्रचचलाप्राचित ।
समागमदथो नृप प्रचलकङ्कण कोंकणः ॥ "

And Goddess of Victory crowned him with success in the battle·—

folio 81 — " निर्गत्याहवसागराद्‌हुमरद्रक्तौघकल्लोलिनो ।
बाणोच्छिन्नकरींद्रकुंभविगलन्मुक्तावलीं बिभ्रती ॥
वामं बाहुमियं विलोक्य नृपतेर्वीरश्रिया सेवितं ।
भेजे दक्षमपिप्रवेणिरुचिरा जाने जयश्रीरपि ॥ १२० ॥ "

The गुरु of King Śambhu blessed him on the successful termination of the battle.—

folio 81 — " आशीर्भिर्नंदयित्वा गुरुरपि स गुरु क्ष्मापतीनां सकंपां ।
चंपां तस्मै भयाढ्या सकलभयहरामार्पयित्वा सहर्षं ॥
निश्चितोभूच्चरासोढमितवनुलवा सापि दोर्भ्यां गृहीत्वा ।
न्यस्ता तेन स्वयनिबलजयकमला सेव्यमानेव रेजे ॥ १२२ ॥ "

The गुरु of Śambhurāja by name श्रीकृष्णपंडित was apparently a influential person as the following verses tell us.—

folio 82 — " श्रौतस्मार्त्तागमीयाखिलविमलमहाधर्मकर्मप्रकर्ता ।
नानाशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता विबुधजनमनः कामितार्थप्रदाता ॥
सर्वेषामिष्टकर्ता सकलखलजनाखर्वगर्वप्रभेत्ता ।
श्रीकृष्णात्पंडितात्कस्त्रिभुवनविषये कोविदक्लेषहर्ता ॥ १२४ ॥
साधूनामवधिर्विभावितविधिर्विद्यादयांभोनिधि ।
सौभाग्यैकनिधिर्विदामत्रिसौजन्यवारांनिधि. ॥
दुर्नीतेः परिधि खलाद्युपविधि. प्रज्ञाप्रभाशेवधि– ।
र्यस्यास्ते गुरुरेक एव सुनिधि. कृष्णो गुणौघांबुधि ॥ १२५ ॥ "

The गुरु praises the achievements of the glittering *sword of* भवानी in the hands of King शंभु —

folio 82 — " राजन्कि घोषयामस्तव विजयमहो ते वयं मंदवाचो ।
वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलसच्चंद्रहासो भवान्यां ॥
चक्रे त्तप्रमत्तद्विरदगलचलद्भूरिभांकारपूर्णा ।
सा वीराशसिनीभूस्त्रिजगति विजया शसिनी यत्रकास्ति ॥ १२६ ॥
शंभो त्वत्खड्गवल्ली लसति समुदिता कालकादंविनीव ।
ध्वांतालीं सैन्यधूलीं बत जगति समातस्य झत्कारविद्युत् ॥
अस्त्रां सारैरपारै प्रधनवसुमतीं प्लावयती समतात् ।
प्रौढक्षुण्णेभकुंभोद्गतमणिकरकान्प्रक्षिपती नितांत ॥ १२७ ॥
सूते नानापदार्थास्तव यदसिलता शंभुराजाद्भुत तत् ।
तापार्कं कीर्तिचंद्रं विजयहुतभुज तारकालीं गुणालीं ॥
झत्कारान्विद्युदोघानपि रिपुकमलां भारतीमस्मदीयां ।
नारीणां शात्रवीणां नयनयुगसराबाष्पशैवालिनीश्च ॥ १२८ ॥ "

The numbering of folios breaks off at folio 82 and different numbering begins, the folios being numbered differently in black and red ink. Apparently a new chapter begins on folio $\frac{159 \text{ (red ink)}}{1 \text{ (black ink)}}$ with ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

Folio $\frac{160}{1}$ — King Śambhu and Campā, his queen, are shown as enjoying the pleasures of life. The following verse shows them in a sporting mood —

" कांत चंपा त्वथ हिमचलद्वातसजातकंपा ।
सध्रीचीभि सहहिमऋतु संप्रवृत्त समीक्ष्य ॥
सौख्यागारं श्रमभरसुख लाघवार्थं स्वदेहे ।
लीलागेहे कुरुत ललितकंदुकक्रीडितानि ॥ १५ ॥ "

The above chapter breaks off at folio $\frac{177}{18}$. Another chapter begins on folio $\frac{181}{1}$ with "श्रीगणेशाय नमः." The poet flatters his own style in the following verse :—

folio $\frac{197}{17}$ " स्फूर्जत्सूक्तविविक्तवाक्यरचना चातुर्यसारांवरा ।
शृंगाराख्यरसेशमर्मकलिताः नानागुणालंकृताः ।
सल्लालित्यमनोहरा हरिकवेर्वाचः प्रगल्भा इव ।
प्रोल्लासं रचयतु यंतु विबुधा विंदत्यमदं दिवि ॥ १५१ ॥ "

Then follows the colophon of the 10th canto which is called 'सूर्यास्तादिवर्णन' —

folio $\frac{197}{17}$—" साधुश्रेणिपदाब्जवदनकर सतोपपूर्णांतर. ।
श्रीनारायणसंभवो हरिकविर्नारायणोपासकः ।
चंपावल्यनवद्यपद्यरचनाचातुर्यविद्योतिते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु शंभुराजचरिते दिक्सप्यसर्गोभवत् ॥ १५३ ॥ "
इति श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयाके
शंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये सूर्यास्तादिवर्णनो नाम दशमः सर्ग. ॥
समाप्त ॥ श्री ॥ "

The next canto begins on folio $\frac{198}{18}$. It contains a description of King Śambhu enjoying a bath with his queen Campā in the bathing apartments. The bathing accessories in royal style are described in the following verses :—

folio $\frac{200}{3}$ " पात्रं नीलमरीचिमंडलगतं प्रौढेंद्ररत्नोद्भवं ।
सौरभ्याद्भुतमौमतैलललितं भृंगावलीगुंजितं ॥
कालिंदीह्रदमध्यसंस्थितमिव व्याक्रोशमिंदीवरं ।
सद्रानोदमरदभ्रदसुभगं संभाति संभाव्यतान् ॥ १५ ॥
वेलाधारविनीलनिर्गतमह.पुंजप्रसारांतरे ।
दोलंत.किल कङ्कलीकलकला: सभाति पुष्पंधया. ॥
कालिंदीपुलिनोदरप्रविलसज्जंबालजाले मिथ. ।
खेलंतो मलिनागका. कलरवासक्तास्तु बाला इव ॥ १६ ॥ "

This canto breaks off at folio $\frac{200}{3}$ and a fragment of another canto abruptly begins on folio $\frac{224}{11}$. It contains विष्णुस्तुति.

Shivāji was called 'गोब्राह्मणप्रतिपालक.' The following verse refers to 'गोद्विजचंद्रचूडगुरुषु भक्ति' as perhaps a family heritage.—

folio $\frac{282}{19}$ " आयु: श्रीर्विजय सुखं च परमैश्वर्यं प्रतापोदय ।
कीर्ति: कुंदनिभा मतिश्च विमला संपच्च सर्वोन्नता ॥
काति शारदचंद्रिकाचयसमा विद्या च विद्योतिनी ।
भक्तिर्गोद्विजचन्द्रचूडगुरुषु श्रीशंभुराजास्तु ते ॥ १५२ ॥"

Hari Kavi makes his own remarks about his poetry and gives us his genealogy and the date of composition of *Śambhurāja-Carita*.—

Folio—$\frac{283}{20}$— कर्तुं कांतकवित्वकोटिरचनां यद्यस्ति वः कौतुकम्
तत्संत: पिबतामलानिमधुनासिक्तानि सूक्तानि न ॥ १६१ ॥
मया मंदेनेह त्रिभुवनमनोहारिचरिता ।
कृता वाचां गु(गुं)फां गुणविहितरूपां कृतधिय· ॥
तदेतज्जानीध्वं यदयमुपजीव्यामरतरो- ।
र्गिरां गंध प्राप्त कविसुरभिता शंकरगुरो· ॥ १६२ ॥ [1]
येनैक. कवितावतारसमये ग्रंथः समुल्लासित-।
स्तस्या एव सुविश्रमे पुनरहो बंध परो निर्मित ।
तस्या लास्यविधौ कृतास्तु बहवस्ते ते प्रबंधोत्तमाः ।
सोय कोपि हरिं कवि कविरविज्योति·कणो दीव्यति ॥ १६३ ॥ [2]
श्रीनारायणनामसद्यतिवरप्रौढप्रसादोदया- ।
यप्रापाखिलदुर्लभा निजकुले कारुण्यकल्लोलिनीं ॥
श्रीकांतस्य ययामकेद्यकुरुतां तस्मिन्विलास निज ।

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1 The following verse in small hand-writing is given at the top of folio $\frac{283}{20}$ as an addition indicated by the mark ⼃ after the verse No. 162 —

" श्रीमद्व्याकरणावगाहनपटुः काव्याधिपारगमः ।
साहित्यामृतसिंधुरागमलसद्धर्मशास्त्रोद्भटः ॥
छंदोलंकृतिशास्त्रशालिधिषणो नानोपविद्यानिधिः ।
सत्छास्त्रानुगतातरो हरिकविर्नारायणिर्नंदति ॥ १६३ ॥ "

2 After verse No. 163 the following addition indicated by the mark ⼃ is copied in the bottom margin of folio $\frac{283}{20}$ —

" वक्ता षड्दर्श(ना)ना भवति खलु नरः कश्चिदाहोस्विदन्य ।
प्राज्ञः सर्वासु विद्यास्वपि भवति जनः सर्वलोकैकमान्यः ॥
दुःप्रापः कोप्यनल्पप्रखरतरमति· श्रोत्रविन्यासुकास्व-
प्येक पाद तदर्द्धं पदमपि विबुधानदन शुक्रमेघः ॥ १६४ ॥ "

वैरं रूढमहो विहाय सतत वाग्वादिनी संपदौ ॥ १६४ ॥
यत्र श्रीपतिमंत्रचिंतनसमुल्लासोल्लसत्सौभग ।
सौंदर्यं परमापतत्त्रिभुवनप्रक्षोभणप्रोद्धुरं ॥
तं संपत्तिभर वरतयमल वाचा विलासं तया ।
यैर्विभ्रांतिकरो भवत्त्रिजगतां कामाच्युत ब्रह्मणं ॥ १६५ ॥
सोयं भूरिगुणो निकाममहिमा सौजन्यवारां निधि. ।
श्रीचिंतामणिनामको द्विजपतिश्चातुर्यचिंतामणि. ।
सूरिं सुषुमसूत तं तनुधरं साक्षात्प्रसादोदय ।
श्रीकार्तीयमिव प्रकामविभवं श्रीरंगनाथाभिधं ॥ १६६ ॥
नानाशास्त्रविचारचारुधिषणो विश्वोपकारव्रत ।
श्रीगोविंदपदारविंदसुरसा सक्तांतरेंदिंदिरः ॥
यः श्रीभागवतामृताब्धिविलसत्कल्लोलसेके. सदा ।
संसाराभिधदावदग्धमखिलं लोक समाजीवयत् ॥ १६७ ॥
तस्मादाविरभूत्त्रिलोकविदितो नारायण· किं स्वयं ।
श्रीनारायणनामको गुरुवर. श्री पद्मनाभानुजः ॥
यस्मिन्नासतते गुणा· स्थितिजुष. सर्वेनुकंपादयः ।
स्वीय वैरमहो विहाय सततं सौजन्यलुब्धा इव ॥ १६८ ॥
पतंगतनुजाजलसन्निधिहिरपत्तनाध्यासनः ।
समस्तगुणगुंफितो विबुधचक्रचूडामणि. ।
रमेशपदपङ्कजप्रमदमानसेंदिंदिरः ।
परास्तकुहकातरप्रगुणदाक्षिणात्यान्वय ॥ १६९ ॥
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणजाखिलसुधर्मसंवर्द्धन. ।
समुद्रवसनोल्लसद्विपदकीर्तिचंद्रोदय. ॥
विलोकनविदारितप्रचितलोकपापोदय ।
सुधर्म इव मूर्तिमान्विजयते स नारायण ॥ १७० ॥
सत्कीर्तिकल्पलतिका दलितांकुरासी- ।
द्विज्ञानकल्पतरुरप्यखिलो विदीर्ण. ।
सौजन्यसिंधुरपि शुष्कसुधारसोभू- ।
न्नारायणेखिलगुरौ स्वतनुं प्रविष्टे ॥ १७१ ॥
तस्मात्साधुपदाब्जसेवनपर. सोय हरिश्चाभव- ।
च्छ्रीनारायणपादपंकजसुधासेवाप्रवाग्वंभर. ॥
य· श्री शंभुमहीपतेरपि गुरोस्तस्यैव कृष्णाख्यया ।
विख्यातस्य निदेशतो यदनिदं काव्यं व्यधाद्द्रुत ॥ १७२ ॥
तनुः काव्यमिदं महत्स्तवयत· स्वीयाज्ञया श्रीहरे- ।

श्वेतो (ऽ) भीष्टमलं ददौ तदखिलं येनायमानंदवान् ।।
(संपू ?) र्णं सकल स्वकीयममल पुत्रप्रपौत्रै समं ।
यावज्जीवमहो स्वजीवनकृते नान्यं वदान्यं गत ।। १७३ ।।
विकाशं सम्प्रीते विबुधरविभिः काव्यकमले ।
मदीयेस्मिन्स्फूर्जेद्विविधगुणसौरभ्यनिवहे ।।
रसाली संपूर्णे कमलनिलया सातिदयया ।
सरासं संवासं रचयतु जगन्मोहनकरी ।। १७४ ।।
आचंद्रार्कं समुधसवरसललितां द्योतिसंदर्भसारां ।
नानालंकारपूर्णा निचितगुणगणां भूरिभावार्थगर्भा ।।
राजद्वैदग्ध्यमुग्धा मुररिपुगृहिणीमुल्लसंतीमिवांत ।
कामासूयाविमुक्ता मम भणत मिहो साधवो भावयंतु ।। १७५ ।।
दु सर्गोस्तु कदापिना त्रिभुवने कस्यापि सस्यान्विता ।
भूमिः संततमस्तु वस्तुनि परे निष्ठां व्रजेयुर्जना ।।
नीचा नित्यमिह त्यजंतु सुहृदां वैरं न वैरंकुरै-
र्भाग्याना क्षितिनायक क्षितितले शंभुश्चिरं नंदतु ।। १७६ ।।
श्रीचिंतामणिसूरिसूनुविबुधश्रीरंगनाथोद्भव- ।
श्रीनारायणसभवो हरिकविर्य श्रीशपादाश्रय ।।
सर्गोभूदनवद्यपद्यरनाचातुर्यविद्योतिते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु शंभुराजचरिते काव्यातिमो द्वादश ।। १७७ ।।
पीयूषांशु १ समुद्र ४ सप्त ७ वसुधा १ विद्योतिते वैक्रमे ।
वर्षे मासि च पौषनाम्नि बहुले पक्षे द्वितीयादिने ।।
सद्वारे द्विजनायकस्य पितृभे चापूर्णयच्छ्रीहरि- ।
काव्य शोभनशंभुराजचरितं नानागुणोज्जृम्भित ।। १७८ ।।
इति सूर्यपुरस्थिते नारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयाके
शंभुराजचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये राजनीतितत्त्वोपदेशनिर्णयो नाम
द्वादशः सर्ग ।। श्री ।। सपूर्ण चैतत्काव्य ।। श्री ।।

The genealogy of Hari Kavi as disclosed in the above extract can be represented as under —

(1) चिंतामणि (vide verses 166 and 177 above)
|
(2) रंगनाथ (Son of No. 1 – vide verses 166 and 177)
|
(3) नारायण (Son of No. 2 – vide verses 168 and 177. He is called
| the younger brother of पद्मनाभ in verse 168)
| (पद्मनाभानुज)

(4) हरिकवि (Son of No. 3—see verses 177 and 170).

It appears that Hari Kavi's father Nārāyaṇa who was originally a Deccani Brahman (दाक्षिणात्यान्वय - v. 169) had settled at Surat as he is called 'मिहिरपत्तनाध्यासन' (v. 169) i. e. resident of मिहिरपत्तन which is the same as सूर्यपुर or Surat mentioned in the colophons. It appears that Hari Kavi also was residing at Surat or सूर्यपुर and consequently the scene of King Śambhu's marriage with चंपा is laid in मिहिरनगर (folio 15) which appears to be identical with मिहिरपत्तन of which Hari Kavi's father नारायण was resident as stated in verse 169 How far this fact is true to history I am unable to say at present.

In verse 172 quoted above we are told that this poem was composed by the order of (निदेशतः) one कृष्ण known as the गुरु of King शंभु (= शंभु महीपते अपि कृष्णाख्यया विख्यातस्य गुरोः निदेशात इदं काव्य व्यधात् etc.). This कृष्ण गुरु appears to be identical with कृष्णपंडित described in two verses (on folio 82) which we have quoted above.

The date of composition recorded in verse 178 of the colophon is Vikrama Saṃvat 1741, in the month of *Pauṣa*, Bahula Pakṣa, 2nd tithi, which corresponds *to Monday, 12th January 1685.* [1] The last folio which records the above date of composition was found pasted to another stray folio with some written matter on both the sides. This stray folio records on one side the colophon of some work on *phala-jyotiṣa* or astrology containing *Saṃvat 1740* and *Śaka 1605* (= A. D. 1684), If this date is regarded as the date of copying of some work on astrology it may be possible to conclude that our Ms of *Śambhurāja-Carita* is a contemporary copy perhaps made in the very year of its composition viz. A. D. 1685, its last folio being pasted on another stray folio written one year earlier i. e in 1684 as pointed out above The other side of the stray folio contains some written matter concluded by 3 verses ascribed to Hari Kavi as under —

Folio $\frac{235}{22}$—" स्फुरत्कीर्तिज्ज्योत्स्नानवयविसरोद्भासितकर ।
प्रतापाग्निज्वालाप्रसरभरसंतापितपर. ॥
समुद्गच्छत्पर्यान्मृतकरमुखोविश्वमहितो- ।
प्रजो यस्य भ्राता जयति महित. शकर इति ॥
ये जन्मावधिसंभृता च रभस नानाभिलाप. परं ।
तानाप्तु सुरमाम्रकोकिलकरस्त्वामाश्रितः सादरं ॥

[1] Indian Ephemeris, Vol. VI, p. 172.

आस्तां दूरत एव तत्परिचय किंत्वस्य साधारणा- ।
त्वत्तो जीवतमप्यलभ्यमभवत्किंयूमहेत.परम् ॥
— हरिकवेर्ममैतौ ॥ ”

“ सुमुखशिखरनामग्रामगानप्रणाम- ।
स्मरणविहितविघ्नध्वांतधाराविघात ॥
तरुणतरणिकोटिज्योतिविद्योतितांग ।
स भवतु भगवान्मे विघ्नहा वि (घ्ननाश. ?) ॥ ”
— हरिकवेर्ममायं ॥

There is besides the stray folio described above another stray folio in the beginning of the Ms written on one side of the paper with borders ruled in double red lines and of a slightly smaller size than the Ms of *Śambhurāja–Carita containing the following five verses.—*

“ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नम. ॥
हिमगिरितनया सा पातु मां सारवृत्त- ।
प्रथितगुणविसर्गो यद्गुणाकृष्टचेता ॥
त्रिभुवनगुरुरीशो यां वहन्नर्द्धदेहे- ।
गमदतिविकृतं ह्याप्यर्द्धनारीश्वरत्व ॥ १ ॥
श्रीमान्गजेंद्रवदन. सदन मतीनां ।
पायादपायभयत. स तु मा नितांत ॥
भक्तानुरागमिव कुंभयुगे दधान ।
सिंदूरपूरममित वहिरुज्जिहान ॥ २ ॥ [1]
फुल्लपत्रशतपत्रलोचना भक्तसक्तहृदया दयासरित् ।
शब्दसागरविचारचातुरी हेतुरीप्सितमिरा ददातु मे ॥ ३ ॥ [2]
श्लाघते महिमानमत्रकवय' के के न कृष्टांतरा- ।
श्चंचत्काव्यकरा परं तु गरिमा श्रीचक्रपाणेर्गुरु ।
बिंबद्वेपिदले यदास्यकमले..... ददातुके ।
वाग्देवी कमलेव विश्वहृदयप्रह्लादिनी खेलति ॥ ४ ॥
कातेव मंजुलपदा कमनीयवर्णो ।
सक्षेपपूर्वकमपूर्वतर वदती ॥
न स्यात्कथ तु सरसा सकला सभावा ।
श्रीचक्रपाणिकविताभिमता बुधानां ॥ ५ ॥
अथ बहुलगुण सुमाननीयो ।
भुवनभुवा...... .....”

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1 This verse is identical with verse No. 1 in Ms No 829 of 1875-76.

2 This verse No. 3 appears as verse No 4 in the Ms (No 829 of 1875-76) of हैहयेन्द्रकाव्य-व्याख्या of Hari Kavi.

It is clear that the above extract contains the beginning of some poetical work of चक्रपाणि as the expression "चक्रपाणिकविता" in verse 5 above shows. I shall now prove that this चक्रपाणि is identical with the brother of Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of Subhāṣitahārāvali.

Dr. Hara Datta Sharma in his article [3] on Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* remarks:—

"Hari Kavi was the pupil of Nārāyana, one of whose verses he quotes and refers to it as श्रीनारायणगुरुचरणानाम्." His youngest brother was called चक्रपाणिकवि and he is referred to by Hari Kavi as 'मत्कनिष्ठभ्राता' or अस्मदानुजचक्रपाणि कवि.' It seems that our poet had other brothers but we find no account of them This चक्रपाणि differs from the चक्रपाणि mentioned in कवीन्द्रवचनसमुच्चय (p. 37) सदुक्तिकर्णामृत (p. 53) and पद्यावलि of रूपगोस्वामिन् (fol. 26ᵃ, v. 258).

Dr. Sharma then quotes two verses introduced by Hari Kavi as composed by his brother चक्रपाणि. They are:—

(१) "कृपापांगाद्यस्य श्रयति रसना शुभ्रवसना ।
... .भगवानेकरदनः

—मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातु चक्रपाणिकवे."

(२) "श्लाघ्य (घ) न्ते महिमानमद्य कवयः स्वीयं न हृष्टान्तरा. ।
के के काव्यकरा परन्तु गरिमा श्रीचक्रपाणेर्गुरु (रो. ?)
विंयद्वेपिदले यदास्यकमले क्षोदाभदन्तामले ।
वाग्देवी कमलेव विश्वहृदयप्रह्लादिनी खेलति ॥

—मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातुश्चक्रपाणिकवे."

(fol. 33. v. 124)

It will be now seen that verse No. 2 quoted above is exactly identical with v. 4 of the चक्रपाणिकविता stray folio viz. "श्लाघंते......खेलति." This identity proves beyond doubt that Śrī Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* refers in his anthology to the verses of his brother culled from the "चक्रपाणिकविता" Ms, a stray folio of which has been preserved in the Ms of शंभुराजचरित of Hari Kavi. This association of चक्रपाणि with the author of शंभुराजचरित raises the question about the identity of the two Hari Kavis viz. (1) हरिकवि, the author of सुभाषितहारावलि and (2) हरिकवि, the author of शंभुराजचरित. I shall now prove that both these authors are identical. My grounds for establishing this identity are —

3 *Indian Hist. Quarterly* Vol. X, No. 3 pp. 478-485.

(1) Dr. Sharma observes [1] about Hari Kavi, the author of सुभाषितहारावलि :—

"The author Śrī Hari Kavi seems to have been a poet of high order. He boasts of himself in the following verse :—

येनैक कवितावतारसमये प्रथः समुल्लासित- ।
स्तस्या एव सुविश्रमे पुनरहो वधः परो निर्मितः ॥"
तस्या लास्यविधौ कृतास्तु बहवस्ते ते प्रबंधोत्तमाः
सोऽय कोऽपि हरि. कविः कविरविज्योति कणो दीप्यति ॥

(fol. 33ª v. 123)

The above verse is identical with v. 163 on folio $\frac{233}{20}$ of the Ms of शम्भुराजचरित incorporated in the long extract quoted above. Perhaps it may have been taken from the Śambhurāja–Carita by the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali*. This identity of verses is sufficient to establish the identity of the two Hari Kavis.

(2) Mr. M. Krishnamacharya [2] in his book on Sanskrit Literature remarks about Hari Kavi the author of Subhāṣitahārāvali —

"His native country however appears to be the Dekkan and he betrays a very close acquaintance with the literature of his country."

These remarks are to some extent borne out by the colophon of the Śambhurāja–Carita We have stated above that Hari Kavi's father नारायण was the resident of मिह्रिपत्तन or सूर्यपुर or Surat but he is said to be 'दाक्षिणात्यान्वय' (v. 169 of the colophon).

(3) Dr. Sharma states about the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* – "Among various other poets Hari Kavi mentions the names of the following with reverence as–

I	रामजित्पंडितानाम्	II	लक्ष्मीधरपादानाम्
III	माधवपुरीपादानाम्	IV	महीश्वरपुरीपादानाम्
V	मधुसूदनसरस्वतीनाम्	VI	अनवद्देवानाम्
VII	श्रीकृष्णपडितानाम्	VIII	श्रीराघवचैतन्यानाम्
IX	श्रीवोपदेवपडितानाम्	X	गोपीनाथपंडितानाम्
XI	सोमजिद्भट्टानाम्.		

It is possible to make a conjecture that these people were either Hari Kavi's contemporaries or preceded him shortly."

Dr. Sharma's conjecture that some of these people were Hari Kavi's contemporaries appears to be corroborated so far as कृष्णपडित is concerned.

1 IHQ, Vol. X, No. 3, p 483.
2 *The Classical Period of Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1906, p 126

We have seen above that the शम्भुराजचरित mentions him as the गुरु of King Śambhu and describes him in two verses (124 and 125 on folio 82). Besides we are told that Hari Kavi composed the Śambhurājacarita at the bidding of this कृष्णपंडित (v. 172 on folio $\frac{233}{20}$).

(4) As regards the parentage of the author of the *Śambhurājacarita* and that of the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* I have to observe as follows :—

(i) The colophons of the different Sargas of the *Śambhurājacarita* uniformly call हरिकवि as 'नारायणसूरिसूनु' i. e son of नारायणसूरि. Then again verse 177 of the extract from the colophon quoted above and verse 153 on folio $\frac{197}{17}$ use the adjective 'नारायणसंभव' with reference to Hari Kavi. He is also called 'नारायणि:' in verse 163 in the top margin of folio $\frac{233}{20}$. All these expressions prove that नारायण was the father of हरिकवि.

(ii) Dr. Sharma states that Hari Kavi, the author of सुभाषितहारावलि was the pupil of नारायण as he refers to him as 'नारायणगुरुचरणानाम्.' The statement of the colophons in the शंभुराजचरित makes it clear that नारायणसूरि was the father of हरिकवि The title सूरि here is significant as नारायण was not only the father of हरिकवि but his गुरु as well, because in verse 168 he is mentioned as गुरुवर (नारायणनामको गुरुवर.) which corresponds to the title सूरि used in the colophons. It is, therefore, clear that one and the same person नारायण was both the गुरु and the father of Hari Kavi. In verse 153 (Folio $\frac{197}{17}$) Hari Kavi calls himself 'नारायणोपासक' in addition to his being 'नारायणसंभव,' Verse 164 (folio $\frac{233}{20}$) informs us that his family attained pre-eminence owing to the grace of an ascetic (यतिवर) of the name of नारायण.

The identity of the two Hari Kavis is in my opinion sufficiently established on the strength of the evidence recorded above. It is now easy to fix the date of *Subhāṣitahārāvali*. In this connection we quote Dr. Sharma's conclusion — [1]

"As Hari Kavi quotes the verses of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, he cannot be a contemporary of Akbar. Therefore, he must have flourished in the *middle of the 17th century* A. D.".

1 IHQ, Vol. X p. 479.

This conclusion of Dr Sharma is confirmed in general by our study of the *Śambhurājacarita* because it was composed in A. D. 1685 and because of our identification of the author of the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* and the *Śambhurājacarita* as stated above. As regards the chronological order of these two works we are unable to decide because the verse common to both these works is not indicated by the name of its source. A glance at the varied and rich contents of the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* will show, however, that Hari Kavi was a voracious reader and perhaps this encyclopaedic anthology containing gems of Sanskrit poetry culled from innumerable sources beginning from poets and poetasters of hoary antiquity down to his contemporary Kṛṣṇapandita and even his younger brother Cakrapāṇi, served as a good discipline for a budding poet of Hari Kavi's classical taste so as to enable him to write an independent *mahākāvya* in 12 cantos bubbling with the essence of Sanskrit classical poetry and devoted to the glorification of King Sambhājī, whose gay personality afforded him an excellent opportunity to make a colourful display of a princely career, which has been estimated by some modern historians as politically effete and unwise.

My brief analysis of the *Śambhurājacarita* based on the available fragment of this *mahākāvya* will, it is hoped, remove doubts, if any, of modern historians about the identity of the hero of this poem with King Sambhāji, the son of Shivāji. I shall, however, sum up the main facts revealed in my analysis which support my identification of Śambhurāja with King Sambhāji —

(1) Date of composition of the poem viz. A. D. 1685 corresponds to Sambhāji's period of reign

(2) The birth of शम्भुनृपति from शिवनृप and the adjectives शिवभव, शिवोद्भव as applied to शम्भुराज in many places as pointed out by me in the preamble of this paper clearly indicate the parentage of the Marātha King

(3) The reference to the sword of the goddess भवानी in the hands of King Śambhu and its description in three verses as pointed out by me also confirm my identification.

(4) The mention of ' गोद्विज [1] ..... भक्ति ' with reference to Śambhurāja is also important. Shivāji was called 'गोब्राह्मणप्रतिपालक' and his son

1 Compare the following verse in the Budhabhūṣaṇa of King Śambhu (Govt Ori. Series) B. O R. Institute, 1926 —

" अधीत्य वेदान्परिसंस्तीर्य चाग्नीनिष्ट्वा यज्ञै पालयित्वा प्रजाश्च ।
गोब्राह्मणार्थे शस्त्रपूतान्तरात्मा हतः सङ्ग्रामे क्षत्रियः स्वर्गमेति ॥ ५५ ॥ "

Sambhāji was expected to follow his father in keeping this motto before him as a state policy at a time when Hinduism was regarded to be in peril.

(5) The poet Hari Kavi may have resided occasionally at Sambhāji's court, though he himself and his father may have been normally residents of सूर्यपुर or Surat. As the poem was composed at the bidding of Sambhāji's गुरु by name कृष्णपंडित such an inference is warranted. At any rate a greater contact of the courtly life of King Sambhāji may be presumed in view of the dominant note of gaiety prevailing in the portion of this mahākāvya analysed by me. The poet's family belonged originally to the Deccan as his father is called ' दाक्षिणात्यान्वय ' and naturally he must have entertained a high regard for a King of the Deccan territories, though Surat was at this period of history in the hands of foreigners.

My friend Prof. H. D. Velanker has already published a " Sanskrit work called बुधभूषण (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Govt. Ori. Series, 1926) claiming for its author King Śambhu, popularly known as Sambhāji, *son of Shivāji the Great* " and has thus retrieved the lost name of King Sambhāji as " nothing but vicious deeds, at the most brave and daring, are usually connected with the name of Prince Sambhāji. " About Sambhāji's literary taste Prof Velankar remarks :— " – it is possible to conclude that not only had Sambhāji received education at the hands of learned Pandits but he had also taste for Sanskrit literature and was occasionally in the habit of writing poetry in Hindi under the influence of Kavi Kalaśa or the celebrated Kalusha, especially when passing his leisure hours in the company of beautiful women." In his Preface Prof. Velankar refers to Sambhāji's Hindi Poems, selections from which were shown to him by Mr. Purushottam Vishram Mavji, J. P. Then again verses[1] 16 and 15 in the preamble of Budhabhūṣaṇa clearly refer to Sambhāji's contact with learned men well versed in Poetry, Rhetoric, Purāṇas, Music and Archery.

Hari Kavi, a poet of no mean talents, must have been foremost among the learned men patronized by Sambhāji and in my opinion his present *mahākāvya* gives an added lustre to the cultural history of Sambhāji's reign.

1. *These verses read as follows* :—

" तस्यात्मजः शम्भुरिति प्रसिद्धः समस्तसामन्तशिरोवसन्तः (वतंसः) ।
यः काव्यसाहित्यपुराणगीतकोदण्डविद्यार्णवपारगामी ॥ १५ ॥
विविच्य शास्त्राणि पुरातनानामादाय तेभ्यः खलु सारमर्थम् ।
करोति सद्ग्रन्थमनुं नृपाल स शम्भुवर्मा बुधभूषणाख्यम् ॥ १६ ॥ "

About Kalusha, the enchanter, who exerted a wonderful influence upon Sambhāji Prof. Velankar remarks.—

"Among the quotations we find one from the pen of famous Kalusha. It is highly poetical and even though we unfortunately do not possess any literary remains of this great favourite of King Sambhāji, we have grounds to believe that he was a literary man. In the old chronicles he is described as Kavikalaśa or the poet Kalaśa." "We will not be, however, far from truth in assuming that to a considerable extent his literary gifts helped Kalusha to maintain his influence with the prince. It is quite possible that this Kavi Kalusha may have composed several poems, which were not preserved owing to the general disfavour in which he was held, but stray copies of which may yet have existed and might one day be discovered by us"

These remarks of Prof. Velankar tempt me to infer by way of pure hypothesis that कृष्णपंडित who is described in two verses as the गुरु of King Śambhu in the *Śambhurājacarita* may be identical with Kavikalaśa, the Kanuja Brahman who is popularly believed to have been purposely sent by the Emperor from Delhi Hari Kavi, as Dr. Sharma tells us, refers to some verses of this pandit and introduces them in his *Subhāṣitahārāvali* by the expression "श्रीकृष्णपंडितानाम्." Then again in the Śambhurājacarita Hari Kavi states that he wrote by order (निदेशात) of one कृष्ण who was the गुरु of even King Śambhu (शम्भुमहीपतेरपि गुरो). All these references show the great influence कृष्णपंडित held over King Sambhāji and it is possible that he may have been identical with the great enchanter of Sambhāji, popularly known as Kavi Kalaśa This identification is however, suggested as a mere hypothesis as among other accomplishments of कृष्णपंडित given in the two verses on folio 82 quoted above we find that he is called "सकलखलजनाखर्वगर्वप्रभेत्ता" and 'दुर्नीति परिधि खलायुपविधि प्रज्ञाप्रभाशेवधि"— expressions which may hint at his cleverness in political chicanery, so characteristic of Kavi Kalaśa, the great enchanter of King Sambhāji

Irrespective of our proposed identification of कृष्णपंडित with कवि कलश it would be useful to put on record verses quoted by Hari Kavi in his *Subhāṣitahārāvali* and ascribed to कृष्णपंडित for the reason that he is mentioned as the गुरु of King Śambhu in the *Śambhurājacarita* If any poems of कविकलश are traced hereafter by historians the verses recorded below may prove useful in studying the question of our proposed identity of the two personalities I, therefore, quote these verses from the fragment of

the Ms of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* viz. No. 92 of A 1883–84 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B O. R. Institute, Poona.—

folios 8-9 — " वृंदारण्यमहीपु वंशनिनदामदामृतास्वादना- ।
निस्यदानि दधुक्षयेव सुरभि वृंदानि सदानयन् ॥
मंदारद्रुमवीथिकासुविहरन् वंदारुवृंदारक- ।
द्वंद्वस्तुत्यभिनदितोस्तु जगदानंदाय नंदात्मज ॥ ५५ ॥
— कृष्णपंडितानाम् "

folio 15 — " शैवालश्रेणिशोभां दधति हरजटावल्लभोह यस्या- ।
स्त सा सोल्लासवल्लाद्वरशफरतुलां यत्र धत्ते कलावान् ॥
उन्मीलन्नोगिभोगावलिसुभगसिताभोजसंभाविताभा ।
गंगानंगारिसंगा मम महति विधौ मंगलान्यातनोतु ॥
— श्रीमत्कृष्णपंडितानाम् "

folio 38 — " यद्वाणी वाणिनीनां मधुरमधुरसद्रोहिणीं रौहिणेय. ।
श्रुत्वा हालावहेलां रचयति सुचिर सम्मदाकुंचिताक्षं ॥
किंचिद्राक्षासदक्षाक्षररसनकरस्रस्तरुद्राक्षमाल ।
सोत्कठ नीलकंठोप्यनुपठति शिरस्तांडवाडंबरेण ॥ १९६ ॥
मौलमदारदामभ्रदलीपटलीकाकलीं श्रोणिबिंबे ॥
चंचत्कांचीनिदान चरणकमलयोर्मंजुमंजीरसिंजां ॥
उत्संगे कीरगीत स्तनभुवि मसृण कल्लकी पचमं वा ॥
तत्काव्ये दत्तकर्णा शिवशिवमनुते भारतीभारमेव ॥ १९७ ॥
यः पीयूषमयूखधामनि सुधा साराछकछेपि य ।
क्षुभ्यत्क्षीरसमुद्रसाद्रलहरी लावण्यपूरेपि यः ॥
यः कांताधरपल्लवे मधुरिमा नासौ समुद्गाहते ।
श्रीविद्वत्कविकृष्णपंडितवचो वीचिसमीचीनतां ॥ १९८ ॥
श्रीकृष्णपंडितानामेते "

folio — " रमालकारसारापि वाणी व्याकरणोज्झिता- ।
श्वित्रोपहतगात्रेव न रंजयति सज्जनान् ॥ २१६ ॥
— कृष्णपंडितानाम् "

We have seen above that in the old chronicles Sambhāji's adviser Kalusha is described as कविकलश. In the above verses of कृष्णपंडित he styles himself as कवि कृष्णपंडित apparently emphasizing his poetical talents and perhaps echoing the identity of his Sanskrit name कवि कृष्ण with the popular name कवि कलश.

II

Since the above paper was written I have analysed Mss of हैहयेंद्रकाव्य represented by the following entry in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, 768 —

" हैहयेन्द्रकाव्य and ṭikā by Hari, Report CLXX - Comm. by शंभु ibid "

Mss represented by this entry of Aufrecht are available in the Govt. Mss Library. They are —(1) No. 827 of 1875–76. (2) No. 828 of 1875–76 and (3) No. 829 of 1875–76. They were acquired from Surat by Dr. Bühler in 1875. Aufrecht's entry about the author of this Kāvya and commentary is misleading because we find that this Kāvya was written by Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvali* and the *Śambhurājacarita.*

Ms No 828 of 1875–76— This is a fragment of हैहयेन्द्रकाव्यटीका of हरिकवि. Some of its folios are not numbered but it consists of 46 folios. It was copied in Saṃvat 1779 i. e. in A. D. 1723 as the following colophon shows —

" इति श्री सर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचितायां श्री हैहयेंद्रचरिताख्य-महाकाव्यव्याख्यायां शभुविलासिकाख्यायामष्टमः सर्ग ॥ समाप्तः ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ संवत् १७७९ वर्षे फाल्गुन शुदि १ रवौ समाप्तिमगमत् "

The above colophon makes it clear that this commentary was written by हरिकवि The poem commented on is a महाकाव्य called हैहयेन्द्रचरित and the name of this commentary is ' शभुविलासिका. ' We have no means of ascertaining the number of cantos of this महाकाव्य of हरिकवि but the above colophon of canto VIII proves that it must have been somewhat like the *Śambhurājacarita* in its extent. The references to earlier works and authors found in this fragment are:—

(1) शारदातिलक fol 1, 6,
(2) अभिधानरत्न fol. 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, 27, 30, 32, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46,
(3) अमरः many times,
(4) श्रीमद्भागवत fol 5, 17, 32, ;
(5) दशश्लोक्यामाश्वलायनेन fol. 6,
(6) विश्वः fol. 8, 39,
(7) साख्यमत fol 9,
(8) महीप fol. 9, 28, 29, 32, 36,
(9) भगवत्पादैः fol. 10,
(10) आचार्यैः fol 10,
(11) नैय्यायिकमत fol. 10,
(12) कवचे fol 19,
(13) हैमः fol. 20, 30, 36, 38, 44,
(14) छदोभुजगमौलि fol. 23,
(15) भाष्य fol. 29,
(16) भाष्यमत or भाष्यानुमतं fol. 26,
(17) पिंगलसूत्र fol 26,
(18) शार्ङ्गधर्या fol 28,
(19) मत्कृतमंत्र fol. 29,
(20) पिंगलनाग fol. 29,
(21) पिंगलभाष्य fol 31,
(22) हविधान fol 33,
(23) वाग्भटालंकारे fol. 33;
(24) कालिदास fol. 36,
(25) वृत्तरत्नाकर fol. 37,
(26) क्षीरस्वामी fol 42;
(27) कामशास्त्र fol 42,
(28) रतिरहस्य fol. 46,

Ms No. 829 of 1875-76—This fragment of शंभुविलासिका consists of about 76 folios of which folios 1 to 68 contain the commentary for canto I of हैहयेन्द्रचरित, while folios 69 to 76 contain a portion of the commentary for canto II (12 verses only). This Ms is very important for our present study as it furnishes more particulars about Hari Kavi. The first 10 verses refer to नारायण, the गुरु of Hari Kavi, and also refer to his patron शंभुपृथ्वीपति who is styled as शैव i. e. born of शिव or Shivāji (verses 7 and 8). We are also told explicitly that this commentary was composed by the order of Sambhāji and that the Kāvya was composed by Hari Kavi himself (verse 10)

This statement proves that Hari Kavi must have been a court-poet of King Sambhāji to receive direct orders of King Sambhāji unlike his composition of *Śambhurājacarita* which, as we have seen above, was composed at the bidding of कृष्णपंडित, the गुरु, of Sambhāji. Perhaps this गुरु may have brought Hari Kavi into prominence and royal favour recognizing his poetic talents and learning, being himself कवि and पंडित ('कविकृष्णपंडित'). I shall now quote the introductory 12 verses of this Ms as no other copies of this work are available so far:—
folio 1–2—" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

श्रीमान्गजेन्द्रवदनः सदनं मतीनां ।
पायादपायमयतः स तु मां नितांत ॥
भक्तानुरागमिव कुंभयुगं दधानः ।
सिंधूरपूरमभितं वहिसज्जिगहानं ॥ १ ॥
यो मां दधाति कमनीयतनुं रसाढः ।
फुल्लावसंततिलका लतिकामिवायं ॥
जीमूतराज इव विद्युतमुल्लसंती ।
श्रीमान्स पातु भगवानरविंदनाभः ॥ २ ॥
भजामि भुवनाधारं हराकारं परं महः ।
यस्येव चन्द्रिका ज्योत्स्ना कृष्णा रामा विराजते ॥ ३ ॥
फुल्लपत्रशतपत्रलोचना भक्तमत्कृदपादपासरित् ।
शब्दसागरविचारचातुरी हेतुरीप्सितगिरा ददातु मे ॥ ४ ॥
वैकुंठनाथपदपंकजलीनचित्र-
रोलंबसंबरगुणागमसिद्धबुद्धिं ॥
संदर्शनप्रदलिताखिलकल्मषौघ- ।
नारायणं गुरुमनल्पगुणं नमामि ॥ ५ ॥
श्रीहर्षेन्द्रवभव्यकाव्यजलधिप्रोन्मंथने मंदर- ।

प्रोद्दामाद्भुतशेषपेषलगिरा सारप्रसारप्रभु· ॥
धाराधारकवित्वकौशलसमुल्लासिप्रभावाद्भुता ।
शृंगारादिरसाकुला हरिकवेर्वाणी समुज्जृंभते ॥ ६ ॥
अस्ति स्वतिकर समस्तजगतः क्ष्मापालमौलिस्फुरन् ।
माणिक्यावलिकांतिकांतचरणः श्रीशंभुपृथिवीपतिः ।
यस्य त्रस्यदरातिपालनपरस्यापीय गौणाकर ।
पीयूष विबुधा विनिर्यदमृत निदंति सौधाकरं ॥ ७ ॥
किं वर्ण्य किल शैवस्य महिमा जगतीपते ।
आकर्ण्य यद्वदान्यत्वमितरैस्तद्वितन्यते ॥ ८ ॥
कर्पूरपूरविशदस्वयश सितसारसे ।
ब्रह्मांडमडली येन भसली क्रियतेतरा ॥ ९ ॥
तस्याज्ञयैव विबुधान्प्रतिनैजभाव- ।
प्रोद्बोधनाय हरिणा किल तन्यतेस्य
काव्यस्य तु स्वविहितस्य विकाशिताय ।
व्याख्या प्रभेव रविणा कमलाकरस्य ॥ १० ॥
सदेहसतमससहरणैकदक्षा ।
नानापदार्थनिभृतार्थविबोधिकेक्षा ॥
ज्ञाताज्ञधूकबुधकोकसुशोकसौख्या ।
विद्योतिनी जगति शभुविलासिकाख्या ॥ ११ ॥
तस्माद्बुधाः सहृदया· सदया भवत ।
पश्यतु सादरमिमां कृतिरस्मदीयां ॥
दोषान्निरस्यतु गुणान्समुदस्य हृया ।
कुर्वंतु चायमुदितो हि विदां स्वभावः १२ ॥ ”

Verse *No. 1* in the above extract viz. “ श्रीमान्गजेंद्रवदन ... सज्जिह्वानं is almost identical with verse *No 2* in the चक्रपाणिकविता extract quoted by me above from a stray folio found in the Ms of शभुराजचरित. So also verse *No. 4.* viz. “ फुल्लपत्रशतपत्रलोचना ददातु मे ” is almost identical with verse *No.* 3 of the चक्रपाणिकविता fragment. It is possible that the brother चक्रपाणि in his enthusiasm to outdo his elder brother may have incorporated these verses from the latter's works without acknowledgement though the elder brother Hari Kavi had better sense of literary veracity as he has introduced all verses of his younger brother चक्रपाणि with the expression “ मत्कनिष्ठभ्रातु· चक्रपाणेः ” in his *Subhāṣitahārāvali*.

As this fragment of शभुविलासिका contains a portion of the commentary different from that found in Ms No 828 of 1875–76 it would be useful to

record the references to earlier works and authors noticed by me in my cursory reading of the Ms These references are:—

(1) रुद्रट fol. 3,
(2) अमरः fol. 5, 6, 7, 10, etc.
(3) वाग्भट, वामन, दंड्यादि अलंकारिकाकारैः fol. 3,
(4) वाग्भटे fol. 5, 6, 15, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 35, 38, 40, 41, 55, 57,
(5) नव्यमते fol. 5,
(6) वृत्तरत्नाकरे fol. 5, 69,
(7) स्कांदे fol. 6,
(8) पद्मपुराण fol 8,
(9) कवचोक्तेः fol 8, 17,
(10) कालिदास fol. 8, 12,
(11) कल्पकवचपञ्जरादौ fol. 8,
(12) शारदातिलक fol. 10,
(13) वार्तिके fol. 10,
(14) अभिधानरत्ने fol. 10, 11, 12, 14 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26 28, 30, 32, 33 39, 42, 43, 47, 61,
(15) सप्तशत्यां fol. 11,
(16) आचार्यैः fol 11,
(17) कविवरजगन्नाथात्पण्डितरायापर-नाम्नः कवेः fol. 72,
(18) विश्वः fol. 44, 73,
(19) अमरव्याख्याने क्षीरस्वामिना fol. 73.
(20) स्तवराजे fol. 20, 73,
(21) भाष्योक्तेः fol. 14
(22) रेवाखंडे fol. 16,
(23) व्यासतीर्थमाहात्म्ये fol. 10,
(24) वायुपुराणे fol. 18, 19, 20,
(25) श्रीमद्भागवते नवमस्कंधे fol. 20, 34,
(26) कामशास्त्रे fol. 28, 51, 53,
(27) हेमः fol. 19, 31, 50,
(28) वाल्मिकिकालिदासमुरारिमुख्याः कवींद्राः fol. 21,
(29) महीपः 23, 24, 66,
(30) कुवलयानंदे fol. 31,
(31) समुच्चयसार fol 37,
(32) तदुक्तं अभिज्ञेन fol. 60.

The above list of references combined with the list of references in the other fragment of this commentary given previously shows us the range of Hari Kavi's studies and in my opinion justifies the self-conscious and somewhat boastful reference to his capacities and attainments occasionally found in his works noticed above.

The hero of हैहयेन्द्रचरित is हैहयेन्द्र or कार्तवीर्य and his identity with King शंभु is too transparent for the poet to hide behind apparently godly environment in which he has been put by the poet. The heroine is none other than पद्मा, who appears also to be the heroine of शंभुराजचरित as we have seen above in our analysis of this महाकाव्य. On folio 14 of this Ms the poet apparently discloses the identity of शंभुराज with हैहयेन्द्र in the following explanation —

"अथस्वसंभावनाकरमेतत्काव्यकरणहेतुभूतशंभुनामकराजविशेष श्चायस्वनगरादिकं वर्णयति पुरमिति etc."

The poet also refers to चपा as the नायिका of the poem in the following remarks on folios 29–30 .—

" कुलशीलरूपादिगुणगणशालिचपानामकनायिकां वर्णयन् "

He also refers to this चपा as the beauty of the town of Surat in the following words on folio 50 :—

"तथा श्रीमान्मिहिरनगरस्य, शोभमानसूरपुरस्य, द्योतनकरां प्रकाशनकरीं, शोभासमुत्पादिकामित्यर्थं ।"

This heroine is shown to have attained a marriageable age on folio 31 — " परमसुदरवराभिलशिनी एषा चपाख्या, षोडशवार्षिकी इति यावत् "

We have tried to prove from the statements of हरिकवि in the शभुराजचरित that नारायण was both the गुरु and father of हरिकवि. This inference is clearly proved by the following statement of this poet in this commentary:—

Folio 68 — " श्री नारायणेति । श्री. सर्वविद्याज्ञानशोभासपन्नतया युक्तो नारायण·, तन्नामको गुरु पिता च "

We have also seen that Hari Kavi's family came from the Deccan and that both the father and the son were residents of Surat. Here is Hari Kavi's own explanation about his Deccani descent —

Folio 68 — " दाक्षिणात्येषु महाराष्ट्राभिधदक्षिणदिग्भवब्राह्मणेषु अन्वीयते युज्यते इति अन्वयो वशो यस्यास्तौ "

The colophon of Canto I appears as under on folio 68 and it is very important as it discloses for the first time in our study the popular name of the poet, which is भानुभट्ट — " इति श्रीसूर्यपूरस्थितश्रीमन्नारायणसूरिसूनुप्रसिद्धभानुभट्टापराभिधहरिकविविरचितायां स्वकृतहैहयेंद्रचरिताख्यकाव्यव्याख्यायां श्रीशभुविलाशिकाख्यायां प्रथम सर्ग समाप्त ". Perhaps this real name of the poet viz. भानुभट्ट may afford historians a better clue to trace the descendants in this family than the poetic name हरिकवि used throughout his works

Throughout this paper we have identified सूर्यपुर with modern *Surat.* Our identification is supported by Hari Kavi himself for on folio 74 he explains " सूरस्य सूर्यस्येदं सौर सुरताख्य प्रसिद्धाभिधमित्यर्थं "

and further he refers to the beauty of Surat in these words :—" तापीपरिवारितसूरपूरशोभाया दुर्लभत्वात् इति भाव . "

On folio 75 he explains the reference to mountain महेन्द्र in the text of his Kāvya .—"महेन्द्रः कौंकणदेशस्थ कुलपर्वत. "

Ms No. 827 of 1875-76— We now come to the fragment of the text of हैहयेन्द्रकाव्य, the commentary on which we have noticed above in our

alysis of the two available fragments. This Ms consists of 39 folios, lios 1 to 20 comprising canto I and folios 20 to 40 comprising canto II. his poem appears to have been written in a sustained style in the assical fashion and in doing so the poet is apparently influenced by ıgannātha Paṇḍitarāya, quotations of whose verses have been given by our et in the Subhāsitahārāvali. Here is his appreciation of Paṇḍitarāya's etic composition on folio 21 of the present Ms —

कमलपटलस्फारत्स्फूर्जन्मनोहरसौरभो- ।
न्मदमधुकरश्रेणीसिंजासमुद्गतमाधुरी ।
न हि सुभगता लोके विंदत्यनेकगुणाद्भुतां ।
कविवरजगन्नाथोदंचद्वचो रचनावले ॥ "

The poet refers to नारायण गुरु in verse 8 of this Kāvya which begins n folio 2 with —

" नमः श्रीमन्नारायणगुरुपदांभोजरजसे " and ends .... " प्रकाशंते काम कविवरकृता- कनुतय· "

On folio 4 the following verses 24 and 25 appear and I find they ppear in the शंभुराजचरित with identical verse numbers. These verses are.—

" इहासीच्चासीर रुचिरवनुभाजां त्रिभुवने ।
शिवाख्यो देशानामधिपतिरनेकाद्भुतगुण. ।
यमालोक्योत्फुल्लद्विपुलनयनोद्गीर्णनिमिषा ।
समुत्कीर्णाभित्ताविवसमभवत्सर्ववनिता· ॥ २४ ॥
सुधासिंधुं प्राप्य श्रवणविवराधद्गुणमयी- ।
मिमामत्नद्वक्त्र किरति मरणीं वाक्यमरणीं ।
सुधीरो गभीरो विपुलधिषणोत्यंतरमणो ।
वदान्यो नेहान्यो जगति शिवभूपाद्विजयते ॥ २५ ॥ "

The following verse 29 is identical with verse 26 in the शंभुराजचरित referred to by us in the beginning of this paper :—

" प्रदीपो दीपांगादिव गगनरत्नादिव महा- ।
महः पुंजपद्मादिव परमसौरम्यनिवहः ।
सुधांशुः क्षीराब्धेरिव हरिवरुनंदनवना- ।
दिवायं संभूतं किल शिवनृपाच्छ्रनृपवि. ॥ २७ ॥ "

As in the case of the commentary on this Kāvya, Hari Kavi states that he got the order of the King Śambhu to compose the हैहयेन्द्रचरित:—

" अमुष्याज्ञा प्राप्य स्वकपकलप्रापप्रद्दतये ।
तथा साफल्यार्थं ललितललितानां निजगिरा ।

सहस्रारांशस्याप्यमरजयिलकेशजयिनो ।
वर राज्ञा राज्ञश्चरितमहमीप्स्यत्परिगृणे ॥ ३० ॥"

We get more description of the heroine चंपा in this Kāvya and her matchless beauty, news of which reached the King who began to pine for her hand.—

Folio 12—" कदाचित्तस्यासीद्भुवणवलपर्यंकनिलया ।
कुलीनानालीकद्युविहरमुखी कापि कमनी ।
समाख्या चंपेति व्यगमदिह या शोभनतमा ।
तमास्युद्यत्कान्त्या शमयति हि चापेयसमया ॥ ७२ ॥
विधाता चंपाख्या त्रिभुवनपताकामिव हि या ।
विधायासौ कृपा कलयति परानदजलधौ । "

Folio 16—" इतीमा नि सीमा प्रवरगुणगभीरवसति ।
कुरंगाक्षी श्रीमन्मिहिरनगरोद्योतनकरी ।
प्रभाश्रेणीं मुक्तामिव खमणिना स्वीयनगरे ।
स राजा कस्माच्चित्समविहितचेता. समशृणोत् ॥ १०२ ॥ "

folio 17—" स भूपश्चंद्राभामिव मनसि चपा परिदधन् ।
न लेभे शर्मापि etc. "

Persons interested in the King's *welfare got busy* and we *find* a Brahman approaching the King with a letter from Surat from चपा's father—

" तदा तत्रापश्यत्करनिहितपत्रं नवतरं ।
स त विप्र श्रीमन्मिहिरनगरादागतमिह ॥ "

Canto I ends on folios 20-21 as follows:—

" श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितिर्हरिकविर्विद्याविनोदोज्ज्वल- ।
श्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुरविय सद्दाक्षिणात्यान्वय ।
भायोगादनवद्यपद्यरचना चातु (र्य) विद्योवित्ते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु हैहयेन्द्रचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोज्ज्वलः ॥ १३४ ॥
॥ श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुविरचिते विजयाके हैहयेन्द्रचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये हैहयेन्द्रगुणवर्णनो नाम प्रथम सर्ग ॥ "

The parentage of चपा is given in the following verses on folio 22. श्रीकण्ठ was a King of Surat. In his line was born तापीकात the father of चंपा, the heroine of the poem. This तापीकात or तापिकाकात despatched a letter to हैहयेन्द्र offering the hand of चपा to him through a Brahman messenger, who was his गुरु, and inviting him to his capital with all his royal paraphernalia. —

" परमिह पुरं सौरं श्रीमल्लसति रिवपा ।
रुचिरतया तापीभगावलीवलयावृतं ॥
अमरनगरीशोभामंगीकरोति यदुद्भवां ।
जगितिजगर्ती यांती गगां निवेश्य निजांगणे ॥ ८ ॥
अवसदमलः श्रीकच्छाख्यो नृपोत्रविहावै
स्वजनिजगर्तीं तापीसेवापरायमानसः ।
सुरभिरभिवस्तापीकाताख्ययाभवदुद्भटः ।
सुभटनिकरा सेव्यस्तस्यां महोन्नतया तया ॥ ९ ॥
नरपरिवृढ. पूर्वं योभून्महेन्द्रकुलाचल- ।
स्थितिरतिमहान्नानारत्नाकरप्रभुरद्भुत. ॥
अगणितगुणोदारः सारोन्नतो वरविक्रम ।
स्वविभवलवक्रीडाक्रीतालकाधिपशेवधिः ॥ १० ॥
किल तनुभवा तस्यादित्योद्भवानुतिसंभवा ।
चपलनयना चपाख्येय सखी मम वर्तते ।
त्रिभुवनकृता या निर्माय स्वनिर्मि(त)शोभिनीं ।
कनककमनीं स्व चातुर्यं पर प्रकटीकृत ॥ ११ ॥ "

folio 38 — " श्रीमद्दत्ताभिधगुरुवरेष्वेव विज्ञप्तियुक्त. ।
नानासूक्तोचितिनवियुवस्तापिकाकातलेख. । "

folio 39 — " एतच्चेय चपलनयना चंपकश्रेणिरम्या ।
चपेत्याख्या मम हि दुहिता राजराजाय दत्ता ॥
तन्मे यूय विपदधिपणाधारिणो विज्ञवर्यो ।
मान्या लोकैर्विपुलकरुणासिंधवोंगीकुरुध्वं ॥ ११८ ॥ "

— " आगंतव्य विबुधमणिभि. तं गृहीत्वा सुसैन्यं "

— " पत्नीमेनं विबुधमुकुट सम्प्रकाश्यादिदेश "

The fragment ends as under .—

" श्रीनारायणसूरितो हरिकविं देव्यन्नपूर्णा स्वयं ।
यं चासूत सुधासमानवचन सत्यादपद्याश्रय ॥
पूर्णोभूदनवद्यपद्यरचना चातुर्यवियोतिते ।
तत्काव्ये खलु हैहयेन्द्रचरिते सर्गो द्वितीयामिध. ॥

श्रीमत्सूर्यपुरस्थितश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविविरचिते विजयांके श्रीहैहयेन्द्रचरिताख्ये महाकाव्ये — "

In the last verse of canto II quoted above we find for the first time the name of the mother of Hari Kavi mentioned, which is अन्नपूर्णा, because the verse states " *Annapūrṇā gave birth to Hari Kavi from Nārāyaṇasūri.*"

In the above analysis of all the available fragmentary Mss of Hari Kavi's works we have tried to lay bare some historical information but have not attempted to identify or verify the same from other historical sources. Such an attempt must be made independently by scholars interested in the history of the period to which King Sambhāji belongs. We have attempted in the present study to give a rough sketch of Hari Kavi and his works written under the patronage of King Sambhāji.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IMPORTANT HISTORICAL NAMES

Mentioned by Hari Kavi

अन्नपूर्णा — mother of Hari Kavi

कृष्णपंडित or कृष्ण or कविकृष्णपंडित — the *guru* of King Sambhāji probably indentical with Kavi Kalaśa.

चंपा or चंपावती -- the heroine of शंभुराजचरित and हैहयेन्द्रचरित and the beauty of the town of Surat.

चक्रपाणि — younger brother of Hari Kavi,

चिंतामणि — Great Grand-father of Hari Kavi.

तापी — river at Surat.

तापीकांत -- father of चंपा, the heroine of शंभुराजचरित and हैहयेन्द्रचरित.

दत्त -- Brahman messenger sent by तापीकांत with a letter proposing the marriage of his daughter चंपा with King Sambhāji.

नारायण or नारायणसूरि -- The *guru* and father of Hari Kavi.

जगन्नाथ (पंडितराय)-- apppreciated and quoted by Hari Kavi.

पद्मनाभ -- Uncle of Hari Kavi and elder brother of Hari Kavi's father नारायण.

भानुभट्ट -- popular name of Hari Kavi.

महाराष्ट्र — mentioned by Hari Kavi as the province to which his family belonged.

मिहिरनगर or मिहिरपत्तन or तपननगर or तपनपत्तन — Same as सूर्यपुर or Surat.

रंगनाथ — Grand-father of Hari Kavi.

शंभु, शंभुराज, शंभुनृपति — identical with the Maratha King Sambhāji, son of Shivāji the Great.

शंभुराजचरित — composed in A. D. 1685 by Hari Kavi by the order of कृष्णपंडित, the *guru* of King Sambhāji (शंभुराज)

शिवभूप or शिव —father of शंभुराज or Sambhāji, identical with Shivāji the Great.

श्रीकच्छ — ancestor of तापीकांत of Surat, father of चंपा.

सत्यादास— the Governor of Surat (called तपनपत्तनाधिपति in the शंभुराजचरित).

सुभाषितहारावलि— an encyclopaedic anthology compiled by Hari Kavi.

सूर्यजासेवक or तपनजादास— father of चंपा in शंभुराजचरित, perhaps identical with तापीकांत.

सूर्यपुर or सूरपुर or सूरत—identical with modern Surat, town of Hari Kavi's residence.

हरिकवि (alias भानुभट्ट)—author of शंभुराजचरित, हैहयेन्द्रचरित and commentary, and सुभाषितहारावलि.

हैहयेन्द्रचरित—a mahākāvya composed by Hari Kavi by order of King Sambhāji.

हैहयेन्द्रचरितटीका—called शंभुविलासिका composed by Hari Kavi by order of King Sambhāji.



14. Date of Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa, an Anthology by Govindajit — After A. D. 1656 *

The only MS of a work "*Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa*" mentioned by Aufrecht [1] is "Rgb 417 (fr), which is identical with MS *No. 417* of *1884–87* in the Govt. MSS Library at B. O. R. Institute, Poona. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report* [2] for 1887–91 does not deal with the date of this work. As this work is a rhetorical anthology of verses from various poets and works, it has its place in the history of the mediaeval Sanskrit anthologies. I propose, therefore, to analyse the only MS of *Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa* viz. *No. 417 of 1884–87* and indicate my evidence regarding the limits for its date.

The work is divided into numerous sections called *marīcis* or rays. The name of the author is Govindaji [3] He was the son of *Caku* and was resident of *Giripura*. [4] He belonged to the *Mevāḍā* caste of *Medapāṭa* (Mewad) as will be seen from the following statements.

folio 2 — " इति गिरिपुरनिवासिभट्टचकुतनयम (?) गोविंदजित्सगृहीते etc. "

folio 3 — { " इति गिरिपुरवर्तिभट्टचकुतनयश्रीमेदपाठमध्यस्थभट्टमेवाडाज्ञातीय भट्टगोविंजजित्कृते सारसग्रहे etc "

The title of the work is सभ्यालंकारण (colophon on folio 9) or सभ्याभरण [5] (Colophon on folio 3). The work is compiled somewhat on the lines of the *Rasikajīvana* [6] of Gadādharabhatta. In fact one Gadādhara is mentioned as the author of some verses quoted on folios 12 and 34

The following works and authors have been mentioned in the fragment of the *Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa* before us —

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* *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. IV, No. 11, February 1942, pp 366-369

1 CC, II. 166 — Aufrecht mentions another work called सभ्यकण्ठाभरण which seems to be different from सभ्यालंकरण.

2. Vide pp lxii-lxiii of *Report for 1887-91* — Here we find merely a list of works and authors mentioned in the fragment of Sabhyālamkarana.

3 According to Sir R G Bhandarkar '*Govindajit*" is a Sanskritized form of "*Govindaji*."

4. I wonder if *Giripura* is identical with *Giri nagara* or Girnar in Junagad State.

5. Aufrecht (*CC* I, 696) records a Kāvya of the title सभ्याभरण by Rāmacandra with a commentary by Govinda (B. 2.110) I cannot say if this commentator Govinda is identical with Govindaji, the author of सभ्यालंकरण

6 Vide my paper on the Rasikajīvana (*Annals B O. R I* Vol. XII, p 390).

(1)	भानुकर	—fol. 1, 2, 4, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37.
(2)	विल्वमगल	—fol 1, 17.
(3)	शिवस्वामिन्	—fol. 2
(4)	नीलकठ	—fol. 2, 12, 13, 23, 36.
(5)	अमरुक	—fol. 2, 4, 18, 21, 27, 30, 36, 37
(6)	श्रीहर्ष	—fol 2, 8, 13, 15, 24, 29
(7)	राजशेखर	—fol. 2, 4, 11, 12, 18, 20, 21, 30, 34, 36.
(8)	बालभारत	—fol. 2, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 34.
(9)	भट्टकमलाकर	—fol. 3
(10)	नीपाभट्ट	—fol. 3, 17.
(11)	घटखर्पर	—fol 4.
(12)	भानुक	—fol 4, 21.
(13)	गोविंदजिद्भट्ट	—fol. 8
(14)	अमरचन्द्र	—fol 8, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31.
(15)	गणपति	—fol 8, 16, 18, 24, 35
(16)	भानुकरमिश्र	—fol 8.
(17)	बिल्हण	—fol 8, 16, 26, 33, 37.
(18)	लक्ष्मण	—fol 8, 9, 16, 17, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34.
(19)	रुद्र	—fol. 8, 14, 21, 37
(20)	भवभूति	—fol 9 32, 36
(21)	धर्मदास	—fol 10
(22)	कालिदास	—fol 10, 16, 18, 32.
(23)	गोवर्द्धन	—fol. 12, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26, 31, 37.
(24)	दडिन्	—fol 12
(25)	गदाधर	—fol. 12, 34.
(26)	त्रिविक्रम	—fol 12, 25, 32
(27)	नीलकठ शुक्ल[1]	—fol 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 27, 28, 36, 37.
(28)	शकवृद्धि	—fol 14, 32.
(29)	नारायण	—fol 15.
(30)	कामसमूह[2]	—fol 15 (composed in A D. 1457).

1 Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla is the author of the Cimaṇī-Carita composed in A. D. 1656 [vide my paper in the *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) Vol IX, pp 231-232] The work चिमनीशतक mentioned by Govindajit on folio 23 of the MS is identical with चिमनीचरित I have evidence to prove that Nīlakaṇṭha was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

2 Vide my paper on Kāmasamūha (*Journ. of Ori. Research*, Madras, Vol. XIV, Pt. 1, pp. 71-81) A Gujarati rendering of my paper has been published by my friend Rao Br. P C DIVANJI, M A., LL. M. recently.

(31) निर्मल —fol 31.
(32) मुरारि —fol 17, 24, 27, 30, 31.
(33) भावमिश्र —fol 17, 18, 19, 22, 24, 27.
(34) प्रभाकरभट्ट —fol. 19.
(35) शृंगारतिलक —fol. 21.
(36) भैयाभट्ट —fol 21.
(37) लक्ष्मणभट्ट —fol. 22
(38) अमर —fol 22.
(39) भारवि —fol 23, 26, 29, 31.
(40) माघ —fol 23, 26, 29, 31.
(41) महानाटक —fol 24.
(42) वेदव्यास —fol. 25.
(43) भास —fol 43.
(44) राघवानंददेवानाम् —fol 26.
(45) क्षेमेन्द्र —fol 26.
(46) किरात —fol 26.
(47) वररुचि —fol. 26.
(48) जयमाधव —fol 26, 32, 35.
(49) उड्डीय कवि —fol. 26.
(50) गोपादित्य —fol 26.
(51) भानुपंडित —fol. 27.
(52) भोजप्रबंध —fol. 28, 30, 34.
(53) भट्ट सोमेश्वर —fol 28.
(54) विकटनितंबा —fol. 28.
(55) चिमनीशतक —fol. 29. (= चिमनीचरित of नीलकण्ठ)
(56) शार्ङ्गधर —fol 29.
(57) भर्तृहरि —fol. 29, 34.
(58) हरिहर —fol. 30.
(59) कविराज —fol 32.
(60) पाणिनि —fol. 32.
(61) रघुपति —fol. 33.
(62) राहुक (!) —fol 33.
(63) पाणिनिश्र —fol. 33
(64) वाल्मीकि —fol 34
(65) कुमारदास —fol 37.

The above list is sufficient to show the sources of the present anthology. The reference to Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara on folio 3 furnishes us with a clue about the limit to the date of this anthology. If this Bhaṭṭa Kamalākara is identical with the author of the *Nirṇayasindhu* (composed in A. D. 1612) we can safely presume that Govindajit composed his anthology after A. D. 1612.

A more exact reference, however, for purposes of chronology will be found on folio 29, where a work called "चिमनीशतक" is mentioned. This work appears to be identical with the work चिमनीचरित by Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla of which two MSS are available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R Institute, Poona. I have proved in my note[1] on this work that it was composed in *Saṃvat 1712* = A. D. 1656. The verse from the *Cimanīśataka* quoted by Govindajit on folio 29 of the MS of the *Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa* is identical with verse 99 of the *Cimanīcarita* (MS No. 698 of 1886–92). This identity clearly proves that Govindajit composed his anthology after A. D. 1656. The other limit to the date of *Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa* cannot be definitely fixed at present but as the MS of the work appears to be about 150 years old we may tentatively assign Govindajit to the first quarter of the 18th century, if not later.

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1. Vide *Annals* (B. O. R. I.) XII, p. [illegible].

15. Date of Kes'avabhaṭṭa of Puṇyastambha, the Author of Nṛsiṃhacampū And other Works — Between c. A. D. 1450 and 1575 *

My friend Prof. N A Gore intends to bring out a critical edition of the *Nṛsiṃha Campū* of Daivajña Sūryapaṇḍita He has asked me to fix the date of another *Nṛsiṃha Campū* by Keśavabhaṭṭa of Puṇyastambha as there is some resemblance between the two *Campūs*. I have great pleasure in recording the following evidence about Keśava and his works, which may enable us to fix his date within as narrow limits as possible —

Prof. Dr. G. V. Devasthali describes some MSS of the works of Keśava in his *Catalogue of the Bombay University MSS* (1944–Vols. I and II) —

Vol. I, p 348 – MS No. 963 – अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of केशव, a manual of funeral rites composed by Keśava, son of Anantabhaṭṭa of the *Laugākṣī* family and a resident of Puṇyastambha (modern Puntāmbe in the Ahmadnagar Dist. of Bombay State). नृसिंहचम्पू and न्यायचन्द्रिका are other works of this author Cf. Velankar No 1249 and India office Nos. 4053–54 and 5769–76.

This MS was copied by Sakhārāma Ābābhaṭṭa Pāṭhaka in *Śaka 1699 = A D 1777*. The work quotes from विधानमाला

The MS begins.—

" यच्छिष्यैर्जगतीतलं परिवृत यः सर्वविद्यानिधि
श्रीलौगाक्षिकुलारविन्दतरणिर्माध्यन्दिनि केशव ।
य प्रासूत सदाशिवाङ्घ्रिकमलद्वन्द्वैकनिष्ठ पर
भट्टानन्तमह नमामि पितर साम्ब कृपाम्भोनिधिम् ॥ १ ॥
नानानिबन्धानालोक्य पुण्यस्तम्भपुर. (om.) स्थित ।
अन्त्येष्टिपद्धतिं भट्टकेशव. प्राह निर्मलाम् ॥ २ ॥ "

The MS ends —

" इति माध्यन्दिनीय लौगाक्षिगोत्र (or त्रा)नन्तभट्टसुतकेशवे नै वा (?) विरचितान्त्येष्टिपद्धति समाप्ता ॥ "

Vol. II, p. 780 – MS No 2237 – नृसिंहचंपू of केशव is a small *Campū* in 6 chapters narrating the story of Nṛsiṃhāvatāra composed by

* *Swami Kevalananda Commemoration Volume*, 1952, pp 129-137.

Keśava of the *Laugākṣi* family, a resident of Puṇyastambha on the bank of the Godāvarī (For other MSS see Velankar No. 1249 and India Office No. 4053). Keśava wrote another work on this topic known as प्रह्लादचम्पू written at the command of king Umāpati Dalapati (cf. India office No. 4054 and Rajendralal Mitra's *Notices*, No. 1427). For quotations from the work see Ind. Office No. 4053. Keśava composed two more works, the न्यायचन्द्रिका (see No 1992) and अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति (see No. 963)

Vol. II, p. 669 – *MS No 1992* न्यायचन्द्रिका of केशव This is an elementary treatise on Indian logic composed by Keśava who is different from Keśava, the author of *Tarkabhāṣā*. For our author's अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति see MS No 963 above

As *MS No. 963* (अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति) of Keśava is dated A. D. 1777 we may push his date to a period which is earlier than about A. D. 1750.

The Govt. MSS Library at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute possesses some MSS of Keśava's works. I record below the evidence of these MSS bearing on the history and chronology of Keśava's works.—

(*I*) *MSS of* नृसिंहचम्पू.—

(1) *MS No. 413 of 1887-91*–नृसिंहचम्पू This MS is dated *Saṃvat 1750 (= A. D. 1694)*

(2) *MS No. 144 of 1882–83* – नृसिंहचम्पू – MS dated *Saṃvat 1854 (= A. D 1798)*

(3) *MS No. 367 of 1884–87* – नृ चम्पू – MS dated *Saṃvat 1855 (= A D 1799)*.

(4) *MS No. 186 of 1879-80* – नृ चम्पू – MS dated *Saṃvat 1845 (= A. D 1789)*.

(5) *MS No. 101 of A. of 1882–83* – नृ चम्पू – not dated.

(6) *MS No. 625 of 1882-83* – नृ. चम्पू – not dated.

(7) *MS No. 162 of 1902-07* – नृ. चम्पू – dated *Śaka 1705 (= A.D. 1783)*.

(8) *MS No. 27 of 1870-71* – नृ चम्पू – not dated.

(9) *MS No. 52 of 1871-72* – नृ चम्पू – dated *Śaka 1717 (= A. D. 1795)*.

(10) *MS No 714 of 1886-92* – नृ. चम्पू – not dated.

(11) *MS No. 514 of 1891-95* – नृ. चम्पू – not dated.

(12) *MS No. 513 of 1891-95* – नृ चम्पू – MS dated *Samvat 1839 (= A. D 1783).*

We have thus MSS of नृ चम्पू bearing dates A. D. *1694, 1783, 1789, 1795, 1798, 1799.*

All these MSS are described by me in Volume XIII, Part III of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Govt MSS library (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1950) pages 355-368.

(II) *MSS of* न्यायचन्द्रिका :—

(1) *MS No. 796 of 1887-91* – not dated.

(2) *MS No 138 of 1871–72* – MS dated sam 1706 (=*A. D. 1650*) [1]

(3) *MS No 206 of 1899–1915* – not dated.

(III) *MSS of* अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति —

MS No. 130 of 1886–92–not dated. The MS begins exactly like the Bombay University MS of this work (No. 963) and is incomplete (15 folios) The last folio 16 contains a different work. There are colophons in the body of the text mentioning the name केशव, son of अनंत

The author refers to a few earlier authors and their works, such as याज्ञवल्क्य. (fol 7), अंगिर (fol 7), " मदनपारिजाते । पाराशरमाधवीये " (fol. 10), भविष्यत्पुराणे (fol. 10), गौतम (fol 10), गालव (fol. 10); आपस्तंब (fol. 11), व्यास (fol. 10), वाराहपुराण (fol. 12), पैठीनसिः (fol. 14); शिवस्वामिमत (fol 13), दीपिका (fol. 14), रेणुकाकारिका (fol 14), विश्वादर्श (fol. 15) etc.

The dates of some of these works as given by Dr. P V. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. I (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1930) are as follows —

Page 389 – (1) मदनपारिजात by Madanapāla – *Between A D 1360 and 1390.*
Page 380 – (2) पराशरमाधवीय by Mādhavācārya – *Between A. D 1335–1360.*
Page 731 – (3) रेणुकाकारिका by रेणुकाचार्य, son of महेशसूरि, son of सोमेश्वर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र – *A. D. 1266*

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1 This date is recorded in the following colophon of the MS —

" इति केशवभट्टविरचिता न्यायचन्द्रिका संपूर्णा ॥ छ ॥ संवत् १७०६ वर्षे । आषाढ सुदि ५ दिने ॥ पातशाहश्रीअकबरजलालदीनमूर्धन्यसनामाध्यापकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थकरमोचनाद्यानेकसुकृतनिर्वापक-महोपाध्यायश्रीभानुचन्द्रगणिशिष्याष्टोत्तरशतावधानसाधनप्रमुदितपातशाहश्रीअकबरजलालदीनप्रदत्तखुस्फहमा-पराभिधानमहोपाध्यायश्रीसिद्धिचन्द्रगणिना लिखापिता प्रतिरियम् ॥ श्री मारोहीनगरे ॥ महाराजश्री-जगत्सराजश्रीविजयराज्ये ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ न ॥"

Page 625 – (4) विश्वादर्श by कविकान्तसरस्वती – *later than A. D. 1100 and earlier than A. D. 1200.*

In view of the above evidence and in particular in view of the reference to मदनपारिजात (between A. D. 1360 and 1390) by our author Keśava we can definitely say that he is *later than* c. *A. D. 1400*, which is, therefore, the earlier limit for the dates of his works. The later limit is furnished by the B. O. R. Institute MS of न्यायचन्द्रिका (No. 138 of 1871–72) which is dated *Saṃvat 1706* (*A D. 1650*). The India office MS of Keśava's नृसिंहचम्पू mentioned below is dated *A. D. 1627*. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that Keśava flourished *between* c. *A. D. 1450 and 1575.*

The *India office Library Catalogue*, Vol. I, Part VII (by Eggeling, London, 1904) contains description (on pp. 1548–49) of two MSS of नृसिंहचम्पू of Keśava viz. *No. 4053* and *No. 4054*. Of these two MSS *No. 4054* is dated *A. D. 1627* (*Samvat 1684*).

Burnell's *Catalogue of Tanjore MSS* (1879), p. 118, contains description of a MS of a commentary on the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Keśava Miśra c. *A. D. 1275*). The name of this commentator is Keśavabhaṭṭa, son of Ananta and the commentary is called *Tarkadīpikā* These details are recorded in verses 1 and 2 at the beginning of the work, which are quoted by Burnell as follows —

" यच्छिष्यैर्जगतीतल परिवृतम्, यस्तर्कविद्यानिधि·
श्रीलोकाक्षिकुलारविन्दतरणिर्मांध्यन्दिनी केशव· ।
य आसूत सदाशिव . . कमलद्वन्द्वैकनिष्ठ परम्
भट्टानन्तमहं नमामि पितरं साम्बं कृपाम्भोनिधिम् ॥ १ ॥
सकलन्यायसिद्धान्त मवगम्य यथामति ।
भट्टश्रीकेशवेनैषा क्रियते तर्कदीपिका ॥ २ ॥ "

It is clear from these verses that Keśavabhaṭṭa, the author of नृसिंहचम्पू, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति and न्यायचन्द्रिका is also the author of the commentary तर्कदीपिका on Keśava Miśra's तर्कभाषा (c. A D. 1275 [1] according to scholars).

Our author Keśava Miśra composed another *Campū* called प्रह्लादचम्पू, a MS of which has been described by Rajendralal Mitra, *Notices* Vol. IV, pp. 12 – 13, MS *No. 1427*. Mitra describes this work as " A poetico–prose romance, founded on the story of Prahlāda, a youth who, born in a Śaiva family, displayed under peculiarly trying circumstances, the most un-

1 Vide p 271 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937, and *History of Indian Logic* by Vidyabhusan, p. 501.

flinching devotion to Vaiṣṇavism by Keśava Paṇḍita.
The MS begins —

" कनकरुचिदुकूल कुण्डलोल्लासि गण्ड.
शमितभुवनभारः कोऽपि लीलावतार ।
त्रिभुवनसुखकारी शैलधारी मुकुन्दः
परिकलितरथाङ्गो मङ्गल नस्तनोतु ॥ १ ॥

यच्छिष्यैर्जगतीतल परिवृत यस्तर्कविद्यानिधिः
श्रीलौगाक्षिकुलारविन्दतरणि र्माध्यन्दिनः केशव ।
यं प्रासूत सदाशिवाङ्घ्रिकमलद्वन्द्वैकनिष्ठ पर
भट्टानन्तमह नमामि पितर साम्ब कृपाम्भोनिधिं ॥ २ ॥

किं भोजः किमु विक्रम किमपर कर्णावतीर्ण. कलौ
सर्वेषामिति यत्र धीर्भवति स क्षोणीतले नन्दति ।
शूरः श्रीमदुमापतिर्दलपति गोविन्दभक्तिप्रियः
श्रीमत्केशवपण्डितो वितनुते चम्पूं तदीयाज्ञया "

Colophon – " इति श्रीमत्केशवपण्डितकृते प्रह्लादचम्पूकाव्ये चतुर्थस्तवक समाप्तोऽय । "

The above MS contains 214 Ślokas and is dated *Saṃvat 1869 (A. D.* 1813). It belongs to Govt. of India Prof Gore may get it on loan from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and see if this प्रह्लादचम्पू is identical with नृसिंहचम्पू or is a different work.

Aufrecht makes the following entries about Keśava and Keśavabhaṭṭa —

Cata. Catalogoroum, Part I, p. 127—

" केशव son of Ananta, Laugākṣikula, of Punyastambha.
—आनन्दवृन्दावनचम्पू N. P. X, 16
—नृसिंहचम्पू
—प्रह्लादचम्पू written by request of king Umāpati Dalapati
केशवभट्ट Son of Ananta Bhaṭṭa ·
तर्कदीपिका a comm on the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Keśavamiśra Burnell 118a "

I have proved above that केशव the author of नृसिंहचम्पू, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, न्यायचन्द्रिका, and प्रह्लादचम्पू is also the author of तर्कदीपिका represented by the Tanjore MS described by Burnell on p 118 of his *Catalogue of Tanjore MSS.* I could not get detailed description of आनन्दवृन्दावनचम्पू mentioned as Kesava's work by Aufrecht. A MS of this work (N P X, 16 of Aufrecht's entry) is mentioned in the *Catalogue of North Western MSS* by Sudhākara Dvivedi,

Part X (Allahabad, 1886) p. 16. The details of this MS as given by Dvivedi are as follows –

> आनन्दवृन्दावनचम्पू—A *Campū* with commentary of Keśava – 333 leaves – 16,000 Ślokas – on paper in Devanāgarī characters – in the possession of Bhāgavatācāri of Benares – Old, complete and correct."

If this description is correct the MS contains the *Campū* and its commentary by one Keśava. It is not clear if this Keśava is identical with Keśava, the author of *Nṛsiṃhacampū* and other works.

The evidence recorded so far gives us the following information about our author :—

(1) His name was केशव. His father's name was अनन्त

(2) He belonged to लौगाक्षिकुल and माध्यन्दिन आम्नाय.

(3) He was proficient in मीमांसा, तर्क, साहित्य, etc.

(4) He was the resident of पुण्यस्तम्भ (modern *Puṇtāmbe* in the Ahmadnagar Dist. of the Bombay state) on the banks of river Godā.

(5) He composed नृसिंहचम्पू and प्रल्हादचम्पू by the order of his patron उमापतिदलपति, son of गोविंददलपति

(6) He composed also अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, न्यायचन्द्रिका, तर्कदीपिका and possibly आनन्दवृन्दावनचम्पू.

(7) He flourished definitely between A. D. 1400 and A. D. 1600 and approximately *between A D* 1450 *and* 1575, a period of about 125 years. This period can be narrowed down if we can identify his patron उमापति दलपति, son of गोविंद दलपति [1]

Very probably उमापति दलपति, the patron of Keśavabhatta residing at Puntāmbe in the Ahmadnagar District between c. A. D. 1450 and 1575 belonged to the family of दलपति, son of वल्लभ and author of the work on dharmaśāstra called नृसिंहप्रसाद composed *between A. D* 1490 *and* 1512. The points of similarity which go to connect these two *Dalapatis* may be represented in the following table :—

1. Dr P. V. Kane has devoted section 99 of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930) to a work on Dharmaśāstra called नृसिंहप्रसाद by दलपति or दलाधीश्वर son of वल्लभ and of the भारद्वाजगोत्र and याज्ञवल्क्यशाखा. This दलपति was a great exponent of वैष्णवधर्म. He was the pupil of सूर्यपण्डित and the chief minister and keeper of records of Nizamshah, ruler of देवगिरि. नृसिंहप्रसाद was composed *between A. D. 1490 and 1512* (page 410).

उमापति दलपति Patron of Keśavabhaṭṭa	दलपतिराज, author of नृसिंहप्रसाद
(1) He was the patron of केशवभट्ट *between* c *A. D.* 1450 *and* 1575.	(1) He composed नृसिंहप्रसाद *between A. D.* 1490 *and* 1512.
(2) He was possibly दलपति in the army of some king ruling at Ahmadnagar between A. D. 1450 and 1575. His protégé केशवभट्ट resided at पुण्यस्तम्भ (Puntāmbe in the Ahmadnagar District).	(2) He was the chief Minister and Keeper of Records of Ahmad Nizam Shah, who ruled at Ahmadnagar *between A. D.* 1490 and 1508.
(3) He was devoted to god नृसिंह and is called " गोविंदभक्तिप्रिय " in Keśava's प्रह्लादचम्पू केशव composed नृसिंहचम्पू and प्रह्लादचम्पू by his order. These works illustrate unflinching devotion to god Govinda.	(3) God नृसिंह was the family deity of दलपतिराज, who calls his work नृसिंहप्रसाद and invokes god नृसिंह at the beginning of each section of नृसिंहप्रसाद (the fruit of the grace of god नृसिंह)
(4) His father's name was गोविंद दलपति.	(4) He was a Brahmin of भारद्वाजकुल and याज्ञवल्क्यशाखा He was the son of वल्लभ and a great exponent of वैष्णवधर्म.

It would seem from the above table that उमापति दलपति is connected with दलपतिराज the author of the नृसिंहप्रसाद and his family. " दलपति " indicates a title of an army officer in command of a body of troops. Later on it may have become a family name of persons At present the surname " दळवी " corresponds to the name " दलपति " current in the 15th and 16th century in the Deccan. The author of the नृसिंहप्रसाद being a prominent member of the " दलपति " family appears to have been called " दलपतिराज," whom I have identified[1] with "*Dalpat Rai*" Mentioned in the *Burhan-i-Masir* as aspiring after the office of the Prime Minister of Ahmad Nizam Shah (A.D 1490–1508). There is possibility of उमापति दलपति being identical with दलपतिराज if we presume that गोविंद the father of उमापति, and वल्लभ, the father of दलपतिराज, are identical persons. Even if this

1. Vide my paper in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad*, 1938, pp. 313-318.

possibility is not accepted it is possible to suggest that उमापति दलपति and दलपतिराज were important Hindu officers, who were great patrons of learning, in the employ of the Muslim kings,[1] who ruled at Ahmadnagar from A. D. 1460 to 1637. A Hindu grandee called सावाजी प्रतापराज composed an encyclopaedic work on Dharmaśāstra called the परशुरामप्रताप. He was patronized by Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar (A. D. 1508–1554) as I have proved in a special paper (*Annals*, B. O. R. Institute, 1944, vol. XXIV, pp. 156–164).

Punyastambha or Puntāmbe, the native place of our author Keśavabhaṭṭa was a great centre of learning for centuries. अनन्तपण्डित,[2] son of त्र्यंबकपण्डित, composed his commentary व्यङ्ग्यार्थकौमुदी on रसमञ्जरी at Benares in A. D. 1636. He was also a resident of पुण्यस्तम्भ. राघव आप्पा खाडेकर who flourished between c. A. D. 1775 and 1820 and composed many Sanskrit works was also a native of पुण्यस्तम्भ (Vide my paper on this author in *Annals* B. O. R. Institute, 1943, Vol. XXIV pp 27–44). महादेव पुणताम्बेकर (c. A. D. 1700) the great logician continued the tradition of our author Keśavabhaṭṭa in the study of logic and composed some works on logic (Vide p 486 of *History of Indian Logic* by Vidyabhushan). He also hailed from *Puṇyastambha* or Puntāmbe. The real history of the contribution of Mahārāṣṭra to Sanskrit learning is yet to be written. For this purpose we must fix up the chronology of every author belonging to different centres of learning in Mahārāṣṭra, whose works have come down to us and are represented by manuscripts in puplic libraries and in private collections, which remain still untapped.

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1 Vide article on *Nizam Shahi kings of Ahmadnagar* in *Madhyayugina Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937, page 491.

2 Vide p. 578 of *History of Sanskrit Poetics* by P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1951.

16. Chronology of Dharmapradīpa And Bhojavyākaraṇa Composed Under the Patronage of Rao Bhojarāja of Kaccha — A D. 1631-1645 *

Dr. P V. Kane makes the following remarks about a King of the name Bhoja in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol I, (1930) —

Page 279 — " There is a work named *Dharmapradīpa* by Bhoja (Deccan College No 26 of 1874–75) It is a work by another Bhoja later than 1400 A D, as it quotes Vijñāneśvara and the *Madanapārijāta*. It was composed by an assembly of *Pandits* at the bidding of King Bhoja of Āśāpura, Son of Bhāramalla. The MS was copied in *Saṃvat* 1695 (i. e. 1638–39 A. D)"

Page 569 — " धर्मप्रदीप[1] of भोज composed between 1400 and 1600 A. D "

Page 719 — ' भोजदेव son of भारमल्ल, King of कच्छ. Between 1400–1600 A. D, author of धर्मप्रदीप "

As Dr. Kane has not identified the kings *Bhāramalla* and his son *Bhoja* it is necessary for me to record the following evidence which throws some light on the chronology and history of these Kings —

The *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol V (Bombay, 1880), pages 136–137 gives us the following information about these Kings of Cutch and their chronology.—

Rāo Khengār I of Cutch — A. D 1548–1585.

Rāo Bhārmal I — A D 1585–1631.

During his reign the Government of Gujarat passed from Ahmadabad Kings to the Mughal Emperors He was one of the greatest Zamindars of Gujarat. He died in A. D 1631.

Rāo Bhojarāj — A. D. 1631–1645.

Bhārmal was succeeded by Bhojarāj, who ruling till 1645 A. D was succeeded by his nephew Khengār II.

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* Poona Orientalist, XVI, Nos. 1-4, pp

1. Aufrecht makes the following entries about *Dharmapradīpa* and its author in his Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p 269—

" धर्मप्रदीप by Bhojadeva of Kacha B A 18. B 3. 94 (Bhojarāja).

धर्मप्रदीपे प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय Bik. 562. "

Page 119 — " भोजदेव, son of Bhāramalla, King of Kacha धर्मप्रदीप "

I have no doubt that Bhojarāja, the reputed author of the work *Dharmapradipa* (MS of A. D. 1638) is identical with Rao Bhojarāj of Cutch (A. D. 1631–1645). Unfortunately the *Bombay Gazetteer* gives no information about the biography of Bhojarāja or his literary interests. It appears, however, that he had some interest in literature and patronised some authors. Though the work *Dharmapradipa*[1] is stated to be the work of Bhojarāja it was composed by an assembly of pandits as stated by Dr. P. V. Kane.

The B. O. R. Institute MS No 26 of 1874–75 begins as follows:—

“ श्री गणेशाय नम. ॥ श्री आशापुरायै नम. ॥
या सृष्टिस्थितिसंहृतिप्रणयिनी देवारिविध्वंसिनी
कामारिप्रियकारिणी मुनिजनध्यानैकगम्या सदा ।
इन्द्रोपेन्द्रविरिंचिवंदितपदद्वंद्वारविंदा भृश
वंदे ता जगदंबिका भगवतीमाशापुरा पार्वतीम् ॥ १ ॥
ॐ नमः कमलालोलविलोचनविलासिने ।
शक्रादिविभवावाप्तिकारिणे सुरवैरिणे ॥ २ ॥
आसीध्यत्यप्रचेताः स्मरहरभजने पालक· सज्जनानां
दीनानाथैकबंधु. कविकुलकमलोल्लासदो वासरेशः ।
प्रौढोत्तापप्रतापप्रतिहतविततारातिगाढांधकारः
सत्कीर्तिस्तोमसोमोल्लसितकुवलयो भारमल्लः क्षितीशः ॥ ३ ॥
तस्यात्मजः श्रीयुतभोजराज महीमहेंद्रो महनीयकीर्तिः ।
आह्लादक सुजनचकोरकाणां क्षीराबुधेरिंदुरिवावतीर्ण ॥ ४ ॥
संग्रामे विजयप्रियः सरभसं दुर्योधनामर्दनो
धर्मे धीरमतिर्युधिष्ठिर इव प्रध्वस्तदुःशासनः ।
दैन्यध्वांतनिवारणः कविकुलोल्लासी विवस्वानिव
प्रोद्यद्वैधविधानकृद्विजयते श्रीभोजराजः कृती ॥ ५ ॥
तस्याज्ञया भूपतिमौलिमालामणेः सदाचारविवेकलिप्सो. ।
नानादिगवागतपंडितालीं करोति वर्णोचितधर्मदीप
॥ ६ ॥ etc.”

The MS ends on fol. 56 a :—

“ सूर्येन्द्रवह्निविधिविष्णुशिवादिरूप-
मात्मानमाह सकलोपनिषत्प्रसिद्धं ।

1. Vide p. 94 *Catalogue of MSS* in private libraries in Gujarat, Cutch etc., Fasc III. 1874.—MS No. 165 of धर्मप्रदीप of भोजराज in the Palace Library at Bhuj in Cutch ("भुजस्यराजप्रासादे") is recorded by Bühler but this MS bears no date.

विंदुत्रयेण निजरूपमुमागतेन
साशापुरा भगवती परिपातु भोज ॥ १ ॥
विहितसुमतिवृत्ति स्नेहसपूर्णमूर्ति- ।
जगति विततकीर्तिः क्लृप्तधर्मार्थपूर्ति ।
इति सुजनहितार्थं भूपतिर्भोजराजो
मुनिमतमवलोक्याचीक्लृपद्धर्मदीप ॥ १ ॥

इति श्रीसकलसामतमुकुटमणि राउ श्रीभारमल्लात्मज राउ श्रीभोजराज-विरचितो धर्म्मप्रदीपः सपूर्ण ॥ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

श्रीमद्विक्रमत छरांकरसभूवर्षेऽयने दक्षिणे ।
मासे श्रावणकेवलक्षकदले भौमे दशम्या तिथौ ॥
मैत्रे भे युजि शुक्लके भुजपुरे धर्मप्रदीपं मह्रा
देवो भोजमहीपक्लृप्तमलिखच्छ्रीमन्नृसिंहोक्तित ॥ १ ॥

भूयोभूयः शुभ भूयात् ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसवत् १७२६ वर्षे शाके १५९१ प्र० रवौ रुत्तराऽयन शिशिरकृतौ पौषस्य मासे कृष्णपक्षे तिथौ ८ मगलवासरे श्रीभुजनगरमध्ये गोवर्द्धनेन लिखितमिद पुस्तक धर्मप्रदीपस्य श्री ॥ "

The foregoing extracts from the beginning and end of the MS of *Dharmapradipa* supply us the following information about its author —

(1) *Āśāpurā* was possibly the tutelary deity of *Bhojarāja*, the author of the *Dharmapradipa*

(2) *Āśāpurā* was identical with the goddess *Pārvati*, consort of God Śiva

(3) King *Bhāramalla* was the father of King *Bhoja* He was deeply devoted to God Śiva and was a patron of poets.

(4) *Bhojarāja* or King *Bhoja* was also a patron of poets like his father.

(5) The work *Dharmapradipa* was composed by an assembly of *Pandits* gathered from different quarters by the express order of King Bhoja

(6) The colophon states that *Dharmapradipa* was composed by *Rao Bhojarāja* (" राउ श्री भोजराज ") son of *Rao Bhāramalla* (" राउ श्री भारमल्ल ")

(7) The colophon states that first copy of the *Dharmapradipa* was made in *Vikrama Samvat 1695* (" शार, अक, रस, भू ") = *A. D. 1639* at *Bhujapura* which is evidently the town of *Bhuj*, the capital of Cutch, where Rao Bhojāraja was ruling (A. D 1631–1645). This was evidently a contemporary copy of the work *Dharmapradipa*.

The work itself, composed by pandits by the order of Bhojarāja, can be assigned to the period of about 7/8 years—A. D. 1631 to 1639 if the dates of Rao Bhojarāja given by the *Bombay Gazetteer* are correct.

(8) The B. O. R. Institute MS of the *Dharmapradipa*, No. 26 of 1874–75, was copied in Vikrama *Samvat 1726* (A. D. *1670*) or *Śaka 1591* at *Bhujanagar* (modern *Bhuj*) by a scribe of the name Govardhana.

From the foregoing data we can easily conclude that the work *Dharmapradipa* was composed *between A. D 1631 and 1639* and was subsequently copied in the years *A. D. 1639* and *1670* at *Bhujapura* or *Bhujanagara* (= modern *Bhuja*) the capital of *Cutch* in Kathiawar. Both the Kings of Cutch viz. *Bhāramalla* and his son *Bhojarāja* were patrons of learned men. Works and authors mentioned in the MS of *Dharmapradipa* are as follows —

छंदोगपरिशिष्ट, सारसंग्रह, कात्यायन, याज्ञवल्क्य, मनु, शङ्ख, स्मृत्यर्थसार, विज्ञानेश्वर (fol. 4), गोभिल, दक्ष, वसिष्ठ, यम, नारद, गर्ग, विष्णु, पारस्कर, सुमन्तु, व्यास, जाबालि, योगियाज्ञ(वल्क्य), शातातप, भृगु, सत्यतपा· नृसिंहपुराण, कालिकापुराण, ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, ब्रह्मपुराण, वैष्णवग्रंथसंग्रहकार, लिंगपुराण, " कल्पतरुवाचस्पतिगोविंददेवधारेश्वरकामधेनुभवदेवानिरुद्धश्रीदत्तहरदत्त हरिनाथ रुद्रधरहेमाद्रिमाधवापरार्कस्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारविज्ञानेश्वरमदनरत्न[1]-कारानन्तभट्टदिवोदासेत्यादि याज्ञिकहरिस्वामिधूर्तस्वामिकर्कादिवृत्तिकारादि " (fol 12), नारदपंचरात्र, हयशीर्ष पंचरात्र, महाकपिल पंचरात्र, गौतमतंत्र, विरचिकल्प, सनत्कुमारकल्प, अगस्त्यसंहिता, शाण्डिल्यकल्प, कूर्मपुराण, पद्मपुराण, स्कांद, विष्णुरहस्य, ज्ञानमाला, पंचरात्र, वृद्धपराशर, विष्णुपुराण, हारीत, वृद्धमनु, भविष्यत्पुराण, आदित्यपुराण, बृहस्पति, देवल, मार्कंडेय, शौनक, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, स्कंदपुराण, मत्स्यपुराण, मरीचि, भारत, देवीपुराण, बौधायन, जमदग्नि, वाराहपुराण, षट्त्रिंशन्मत, प्रचेता भविष्योत्तर, सौरपुराण, बृहन्नारदीय, etc.

Aufrecht makes the following entry in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, part I, p. 418 —

" भोजव्याकरण grammar, written in the reign of
Bhojadeva of Kach, by Vinayasāgara.
— B. 3. 16.
— Bikaner 268,
— Gu 4.
— W. 1636 "

1. Vide p. 353 of P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I (1930). Dr. Kane places Madanaratna " about 1425–1450 A. D. "

MS "Gu 4" is identical with MS No 82 of 1871–72 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B O R Institute. This MS begins as follows —

"श्रीविघ्नहर्त्रे नम ॥

प्रणम्य लोकेशमनतशार्ङ्गिं
श्रीशारदाया वचनप्रसादात् ।
श्रीभारमल्लात्मजभोजतुष्ट्यै
विरच्यते व्याकरण नवीन ॥ १ ॥"

The MS ends —

"सकलसमीहिततरण हरण दु खस्य कोविदाभरण ।
श्रीभोजव्याकरण पठन्तु तस्मात्प्रयत्नेन ॥ ३० ॥
श्रीधर्म्ममूर्त्तिपदमानसराजहस
कल्याणसागरगुरुर्जयताद्धराया ॥
शिष्य समग्र " चित्तविनोदकारी
यस्यास्ति सत्विनयसागरनामधेय ॥ ३१ ॥
श्रीभारमल्लतनयो भुवि भोजराजो
राज्य प्रशास्ति रिपुवर्जितमिद्रवद्यः ॥
तस्याज्ञया विनयसागरपाठकेन
सत्यप्रवध रचिता सुतृतीयवृत्ति ॥ ३२ ॥

इति श्रीविनयसागरोपाध्यायविरचिते श्रीभोजव्याकरणे तृतीयवृत्ति समाप्ता ॥ ३ ॥ ॥ सवत् १९२८ ना अषाढ वदि ७ सप्तमि तिथौ रविवासरे समाप्तोयमि० '

This MS is a copy made for Buhler in Samvat 1928 (= 1872 A. D. from some old MS in Gujarat.

It is clear from the extracts given above that the *Bhojavyākaraṇa* is a work on grammar composed by Vinayasāgara, pupil of Kalyāṇasāgara, by the order of king Bhojarāja son of Bhāramalla

I have no doubt that the Bhojarāja son of Bhāramalla mentioned by Vinayasāgara as his patron king is identical with Bhojarāja the reputed author of the *Dharmapradīpa* composed *between A D. 1631 and 1638* as I have shown above.

The *Bhojavyākaraṇa*[1] was composed while Bhojarāja was ruling as

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1. Vide p. 115 of *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* by S K Belvalkar, Poona 1915. Dr Belvalkar observes —

"*Bhojavyākaraṇa by Vinayasundara* — written for the benefit of a King Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla. This work like the above, is metrical in form, following the usual topical arrangement."

Vinayasāgara is the author of this work and not *Vinayasundara* as stated by Dr. Belvalkar.

stated by Vinayasāgara. As this king ruled between A. D. 1631 and 1645 we may fix up the date of the *Bhojavyākaraṇa between A. D. 1631* and *1645.*

Prof H. D. Velankar records the following MSS of the *Bhojavyākaraṇa* in his *Jinaratnakos'a* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1944) —

Page 299— "भोजव्याकरण (Gram 2000) by विनयसागर of Añcala Gaccha. BO p 43; Buh. II, No 82; CC I. p 418. JB. 161; JG p. 298; Limdi No 1187 "

On p. 247 of the *Jinaratnakośa* Velankar records a work called "पार्श्वनाथ सहस्रनाम" by *Kalyāṇasāgarasūri* of the *Añcala Gaccha.* Most probably this *Kalyāṇasāgara* is identical with *Kalyāṇasāgara,* the guru of Vinayasāgara who composed the *Bhojavyākaraṇa between A. D. 1631 and 1645.*

The data recorded in this paper will, I hope, be found useful in fixing the chronology of any other works of *Bhojarāja, Vinayasāgara* and *Kalyāṇasāgara,* if they come to light hereafter. At any rate I have fixed up within narrow limits the dates of the *Dharmapradīpa* and the *Bhojavyākaraṇa,* which were left undecided by other scholars.

The *Praśastisamgraha* (ed by A. M. Shah, Ahmedabad), Part II contains the following dated *praśastis* in which *Kalyāṇasāgara* is mentioned .—

Page 187 — MS of *Saṃvat* 1678 (= *A. D. 1622*) — it was presented to कल्याणसागरसूरीश्वर (mentioned as " अचलगच्छाधिराज") by सागाक of भुजनगर (modern *Bhuja*).

Page 188 — MS of *Samvat* 1678 (= *A. D.* 1622) — copied by ज्ञानसागर when कल्याणसागरसूरीश्वर was ruling at अंचलगच्छ.

Page 195 — MS of *Saṃvat* 1684 (= *A. D. 1628*) — it was presented by अचलगच्छाधिराजकल्याणसागरसूरि to रत्नसिंह for study.

Page 209 — MS copied at भुजनगर (Bhuj) in *Saṃvat* 1698 (= *A. D. 1642*) when कल्याणसागरसूरि was ruling at अंचलगच्छ.

It will be seen from the above dated *praśastis* that *Kalyāṇasāgara,* the guru of Vinayasāgara, the author of *Bhojavyākaraṇa,* was living between A. D. 1622 and 1661.

Part II of the *Praśastisamgraha* contains the following *praśastis* mentioning विनयसागर .—

Page 186 — A MS was copied in *Saṃvat 1676* (= *A. D. 1620*) by हेमसागर, pupil of विनयसागर.

Page 195 — A MS was copied in *Saṃvat 1683* (= *A. D. 1627*) and presented to विनयसागरगणि

Page 193 — A Ms was copied in *Samvat 1667* (= *A. D. 1611*) by विनयसागरमुनि at दिल्ली नगर, when जहांगिर पातिसाह was ruling.

Vinayasāgara mentioned in the above *praśastis* dated A. D. 1611, 1620 and 1627 was contemporary of *Kalyāṇasāgara*, who was living between A. D. 1622 and 1661. It is possible to suggest that this *Vinayasāgara* is identical with *Vinayasāgara*, the pupil of *Kalyāṇasāgara*, who composed the *Bhojavyākaraṇa between A. D. 1631 and 1645*. More definite evidence is, however, required to prove the identity of Vinayasāgara of the *praśastis* with his namesake, the author of the *Bhojavyākarana*.

17. Authorship and Antiquity of a Stanza with Paleographic Imagery in the Text Of the Mahimnastotra *

Having published a paper on the *History of Ink-manufacture in India* I developed some interest in the literary references about writing materials frequently found in Sanskrit sources. While reading the popular hymn to God Śiva called the *Mahimnastotra*, which is recited by some devout people every day, I was much charmed by the following stanza which contains in the form of sublime imagery references to writing materials viz. (1) *ink*, (2) *pen* and (3) *palm-leaf* or *birch-bark* and (4) *ink-pot* :—

> " असितगिरिसमं स्यात्कज्जलं सिन्धुपात्रे
> सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी पत्रमुर्वी ।
> लिखति यदि गृहीत्वा शारदा सर्वकालम्
> तदपि तव गुणानां ईश पारं न याति ॥ "

(O God Śiva ! even though the Goddess of Learning (Śāradā) continues recording perpetually your good qualities on the *leaf* in the form of the earth with *pen* in the form of the branch of the heavenly tree and *ink* made of a mountain of black *soot* dissolved in the *ink-pot* in the form of the river Indus, she will not be able to exhaust all your qualities)

In view of the sublime imagery of paleographic interest contained in the above stanza I began to investigate the antiquity and authorship of this stanza. In the first instance I wanted to satisfy myself that this stanza is a genuine part of the *Mahimnastotra* itself. While my investigation was going on I happened to read the edition of *Aparokṣānubhava* (with Jayarāmasvāmi Vadgaonkar's metrical commentary in Marathi) by V. L. Bhave, Thana, 1905. This edition contains the Sanskrit text (in verse) of the *Aparokṣānubhava* (also called *Aparokṣānubhūti*), the authorship of which is ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya (*8th century A. D.*). The Marathi commentary was composed by Jayarāmasvāmi, who flourished *between A. D. 1590 and 1672* (vide p. 396 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937).

Jayarāmasvāmi (=JS) has divided his Marathi commentary in 12 *Prakaraṇas*. The 11th *Prakaraṇa* ends as follows:—

* Bhāratīya Vidyā, Vol. XII (1951), pp 139-143

Page 82 — " परिपक्कं मनो येषां..... . ... ।
गुरुदैवतभक्ताना .... जवात् ॥ ५६ ॥ "
Commentary·..... .... प्रकरण स्वयमेव अकरावें ॥

Page 84 — *Prakaraṇa* 12th begins —
" असितगिरिसम स्यात्कज्जलं सिन्धुपात्रे
सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी पत्रमुर्वी ।
लिखति यदि गृहीत्वा शारदा सर्वकालम्
तदपि तव गुणानामीश पारं न याति ॥ ५७ ॥ "

Commentary. — " मेरु मंदार पर्वत सकळ ।
तितुकें मसी केलें काजळ ।
सिंधू एवढें पात्र प्रबळ ।
भरिलें केवळ उचबळत ॥ ६ ॥
कल्पवृक्षाचिया श्रेष्ठशाखा ।
आणि पृथ्वीचिया सकळवृक्षां ।
करूनिया लेखणिया सुरेखा ।
पत्र देखा पृथ्वी सकळ ॥ ७ ॥
इतुकें घेऊनिया लेखन ।
सर्वकाल सरस्वती आपण ।
करिता सर्वथा तुझे गुण ।
स्वामी पूर्ण न गणवती ॥ ८ ॥ "

This occurrance of the stanza " असितगिरिसम " from the popular text of the *Mahimnastotra* in the text of the *Aparokṣānubhava* came to me as a surprise but the commentary of this stanza bs *JS* (A.D. 1599–1672) pleased me as it proved the following points connected with my inquiry.—

(1) *JS* (A.D 1599–1672) had before him a MS of *Aparokṣānubhava* with the stanza " असितगिरिसम " as part of the text.

(2) This stanza was in existence about A.D 1600 irrespective of the question of its authorship

With regard to the authorship of the stanza we have now to answer the following questions :—

(1) Does this stanza form a genuine part of the *Mahimnastotra* ? or (2) Does it form part of the *Aparokṣānubhava* of Śaṃkarācārya ? These questions can be answered by examining all known MSS and printed editions of the *Mahimnastotra* and the *Aparokṣānubhūti* (°*bhava*). To begin with I shall record below the results of my examination of the material available to me.—

(I) *Mahimnastotra* — The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses the following MSS of the *Stotra*.—

(1) Text with commentary by Kṛṣṇa-nṛpa —No. *742 of 1886–92* —The stanza "असितगिरिसमं" is given on folio 11[b] as No. 32. Stanza No. 33 — "सुरभुजगनेन्द्र." is the last stanza of the text. The commentary explains only stanzas No. 31 and 33. *There is no Commentary for Stanza No.* 32.

(2) Text with commentary — *No. 645 of 1883–84* — On folio 11 the stanza "असितगिरिसम" is found as No. 32 with the following commentary.—

"हे ईश हे स्वामिन् असितगिरिसमं अंजनगिरितुल्यं। कज्जलं स्यात्। फ सिंधुपात्रे यदि सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी स्यात्। यदि शारदा सरस्वती उर्वी पत्रं गृहीत्वा सर्वकालं लिखति तदपि तव गुणानां पारं न याति ॥ ३२ ॥"

(3) Text with commentary—No. 539 *of* 1891-95—On folio 17 the stanza "असितगिरिसमं" appears as the last stanza (No. 32) of the text with the following commentry:—

"हे ईश असितगिरिसमं अंजनगिरितुल्यं कज्जलं स्यात् फ सिंधुपात्रे यदि सुरतरुवरशाखा लेखनी स्यात्॥ यदि शारदा सरस्वती उर्वी पत्रं गृहीत्वा सार्वकाल लिखति॥ तदपि तव गुणाना पारं न याति ॥ ३२ ॥"

This commentary is practically a copy of that in MS No. 645 of 1883–84 recorded above.

(4) Madhusūdana Sarasvatī has commented on the *Mahimnastotra*. I have examined the following MSS of his commentary —

No. *175 of 1884-87*—dated Śaka 1747 (= A.D. 1825)— Copied at सतारपुर (= Satara ?). The stanza "असितगिरिसमं" is not found in this MS. There is also no commentary on it by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

No. *75 of A 1879 80* —Text with commentary. Neither the stanza "असितगिरिसमं" nor its commentary is found in the MS.

No. *33 of 1883–84* —Text with commentary of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The last three stanzas of the text are the following —

(१) "कुसुमदशननामा ....महिम्नः ॥ ३२ ॥
अयं श्लोक. स्वपाठगतोपि सुगमत्वान्न व्याख्यातः ॥"

(२) "सुरगुरुमभिपूज्य ... ...पुष्पदंतप्रणीत ॥ ३३ ॥"

(३) "असितगिरिसमं ... . ईश पारं न याति ॥ ३४ ॥"

(४) "श्रीपुष्पदंतमुखपंकज............नूनपतिर्महेशः ॥ ३५ ॥"

एते त्रयः श्लोका न साम्प्रदायिकत्वेन श्लोकांतर्गता
तथा सुगमाश्चेति उपेक्षिता इति शुभ"

It will be seen from the above extract that the verse " असितगिरिसम " is found in this MS among verses which are not accompanied with the comment of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The attempt of the copyist to explain away the non-inclusion of these four verses in the body of the text of the Stotra accompanied with the commentary by his own endorsements viz. (1) " अयश्लोकः etc. " and (2) " एते त्रय श्लोका etc. " is futile and confirms our suspicion about their genuineness.

No. 159 of 1881–82—Text with commentary of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The last stanza of the text is— "कुसुम दत (दशन ?) नामा ...महिम्न " followed by the endorsement " अयं श्लोकः स्तोत्रातर्गतः सुगमश्चेति सर्वं भद्र " but without commentary. The stanza " असितगिरिसम " is absent in this MS so also any commentary on it is not traceable

No. 206 of 1902 07—Text with commentary of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The MS is dated Śaka 1736 (= *A.D. 1811*)— The last stanza of the text is the same as in MS No. 159 of A 1881 82 The endorsement following the stanza is also the same as in MS No. 159 of A 1881-82 The stanza " असितगिरिसम " and its commentary are absent in the MS

The absence of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's commentary on the stanza " असितगिरिसम " in the above four MSS leads me to believe that the text of the *Mahimnastotra* known to him as genuine did not contain this stanza.

(II) *Aparokṣānubhava ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya*

With a view to seeing if the stanza " असितगिरिसम" of the *Mahimnastotra* forms parts the *Aparokṣānubhava* (or °*bhūti*) I have to record below the result of my examination of the following MSS of this work in the Government MSS Library at the B O. R Institute —

(1) *MS No. 216 of 1892 95*—Text with the Comm. of Vidyāranya (*c. A D 1350*)—Contains 147 verses of the text.

(2) *MS No 111 of 1902 07*—Text with Comm of Vidyāranya—144 stanzas only of the text plus 3 extra stanzas.

(3) *MS No 368 of A 1881-82*—Commentary called विज्ञानविनोदिनी by Bālagopāla on 141 stanzas of the text.

(4) *MS No 678 of 1887-91*—Text only—143 stanzas.

(5) *MS No. 130 of 1883–84* — Text only — 143 stanzas.

(6) *MS No. 112 of 1902–07* — Text only — 145 stanzas — MS dated *Śaka 1643 (= A.D. 1721)*

(7) *MS No 3 of 1919–24* — Text with verse for verse comm. in *Marāṭhī* by Vāmana — 144 stanzas.

(8) *MS No 744 of 1891-95* — Text with comm. called 'बोधदीपिका' which refers to the work "हठप्रदीप" (folio 27) — 142 stanzas.

(9) *MS No. 656 of 1882 83* — Text with Vāmana's Marāṭhī comm. (same as No. 7 above) — 144 stanzas.

(10) *MS No 640 of 1887-91* — Text only — MS dated *Samvat* 1837 (= *A.D. 1781*) — 144 stanzas.

(11) *MS No 589 of 1884-87*—Text only — MS dated *Saṃvat 1866* (= *A.D. 1810*) — *144* stanzas.

(12) *MS No. 626 of Viś I* — Text with the comm. (विवरण) of "नित्यानंदचरणानुचर" — 144 stanzas — MS dated *Śaka* 1685 (= A. D. 1763) — The commentator refers to god Viṭhobā of Pandharpur (पढरीश) on the last folio 148.

None of the above MSS of the text of the *Aparokṣānubhūti* and the commentaries on it by Vidyāraṇya (c. A. D. 1350) and others contain either the text or commentary of the stanza of the *Mahimnastotra* viz. "असितगिरिसमं" etc. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that this stanza did not form part of the *Aparokṣānubhūti*, though Jayarāmasvāmī (A. D. 1599–1672) had before him a MS of the *Aparokṣānubhūti* with this stanza incorporated into it as he comments in Marāṭhī verse on this stanza considering it as genuine part of the text. [1]

In the light of evidence recorded so far about the textual history of the stanza in the popular *Śivamahimnastotra* viz. "असितगिरिसम...... पारं न याति" the following inferences can be tentatively drawn.—

(1) This stanza is possibly an interpolation in the text of the *Śivamahimnastotra*.

(2) This stanza is also an interpolation in the text of the *Aparokṣānubhūti* available to Jayarāmasvāmī (A. D. 1599-1672) for his Marāṭhī commentary in *Ovī* metre.

1. I have not examined all the printed editions of the Aparokṣānubhūti. The following editions examined by me do not contain the Stanza "असितगिरिसम" etc. or its commentary—

(i) Śaṅkarācārya's Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II, Mysore, 1898—pp. 1-57 — Text with Vidyāraṇya's Commentary.

(ii) Pothī Edition, Bombay, 1883—Text with comm. of Vidyāraṇya (Printed in Jagadīśvara Litho Press).

(3) The authorship and the exact date of the composition of this stanza is so far unknown but it was in existence between A. D. 1599 and 1672, as Jayarāmasvāmī comments on it.

(4) Perhaps the stanza formed part of some other Stotra or was a stray *Subhāṣita* available for indiscriminate insertion in any text according to the caprice of a copyist or a devotee, who was charmed by the beauty of imagery contained in the stanza.

(5) This stanza has a clear antiquity of more than 350 years.

I await more documentary evidence for or against the inferences tentatively drawn by me on the basis of the data recorded in this paper.

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18. Studies in the History Of Dietetics — References to "Avarānna" in the Dharmasūtras Of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba And The Gṛhyasūtra Of Āpastamba — (Between B. C. 500 and A. D. 500) *

In my paper on " *Varānna* " and its history from the 7th century A.D. up to 1800 A.D. I tried to establish the following equation :—

वरान्न mentioned by the Jain author of वराङ्गचरित (*7th Cent. A.D.*) ?= { अवरान्न mentioned in अष्टांगसंग्रह (*c.A.D. 625*) and in अष्टांगहृदय (*8th or 9th Century A.D.*) }

= वरान्न mentioned by the Marathi writers, *Ekanātha* (*A.D. 1533–1599*), by *Mukteśvara* (*c.A.D. 1599 –1649*), by *Rāmadāsa* (*A.D. 1608–1682*).

= वरण mentioned in लीळाचरित्र (Marathi) of *c.A.D. 1250*, in स्मृतिस्थल (Marathi) of *c.A.D. 1450*, in Moropant's works (*A.D. 1729–1794*).

I further pointed out that the term " अवरान्न " of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* (c.A.D. 625) has been explained by Indu in his commentary (between c A.D. 700 and 900) as " विदल-सस्य-अन्नम् " i.e. food prepared from split grain or pulse. Subsequent commentators like Aruṇadatta (A.D 1220) and Hemādri (A. D. 1260) support Indu's explanation and clarify it by giving examples. According to Aruṇadatta the अवरान्न was made of माष and other grains evidently in the form of pulse or "विदल" [1] which Ḍallana (c. A. D 1100) explains as " शमीधान्य-अवयवः. "

Since the publication of my paper I was in search of the usages of the term "अवरान्न" in sources earlier than A.D 600 to enable me to learn the antiquity of this term in Indian dietetic terminology current before A.D. 600. Fortunately I have been able to trace the following usages of "अवरान्न" much earlier than I expected in non medical [2] works :—

* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. XII (1948) pp. 1–9.

1. Carakasaṃhitā (N. S. Press, 1941, pp. 456–457— चिकित्सास्थान VII, 137) mentions the term विदल (" एषः कषायः साध्यो दत्वा द्विपल मसूरविदलानाम् ") which is explained by Cakrapāṇidatta (C. 1060 A.D.) as follows :—

" मसूरविदलानामिति निस्तुषमसूराणां, न तु मसूरविदला अत्र श्यामाः उक्तं हि सुश्रुते पुलिनेन—" मसूरविदलोत्पलम् " इति. "

2. I record below some references to the terms "विदल" and "वैदल" in view of Indu's equation of अवरान्न with " विदल-सस्य-अन्नम्."

(Continued on the next page)

(1) Haradatta in his commentary on the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* (Trivandrum, 1923) Chap I, *Khaṇḍa 7, Sūtra 1* (p 33)—
" पाणिग्रहणादि गृह्य परिचरेत् स्वय पत्न्यपि वा पुत्र कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा ॥ १ ॥ "
mentions " अवरान्न " along with क्षार, लवण, as will be seen from the following extract

" यस्मिन्कर्मणि पाणिर्गृह्यते तत्पाणिग्रहणं विवाह तत आरभ्य गृह्यमग्निं परिचरेत् । परिचरणं शुश्रूषा, समिन्धनादि । होमश्च पत्नीकुमारीव्यतिरिक्तानाम् । तयोस्तु संमार्जनमुपलेपनं हविरुपकल्पन समिन्धनमित्यादि । पुत्रस्याप्युपनीतस्य ग्रहणम् । तथा आपस्तम्ब.—

' स्त्रियानुपेतेन क्षारलवणावरान्न[1]संसृष्टस्य च होमं परिचक्षते ' इति
अन्ये तु होममपि सर्वेषामिच्छन्ति । '

(*Continued from the preceding page*)

(i) *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, N S. Press, 1938 (उत्तरतन्त्र, Chap. 54 verse 4) refers to " माषपिष्टान्न-विदल." Dallana explains पिष्टान्न = तण्डुलपिष्टादि and विदल = मकुष्टादि – Dallana in his comments on para 5 of Chap 20 of सूत्रस्थान (p 95) mentions "वैदलसूप्य" (मुद्गादयः वैदलसूप्येषु).

Suśruta refers to "वैदला:" in *Sūtrasthāna*, Ch 46, 27—

" मुद्गवनमुद्गकलायमकुष्टमसूरमङ्गल्यचणकसतीनत्रिपुटकहरेण्वाढकीप्रभृतयो वैदला. ॥ २७ ॥ "

Dallana explains —

" एषा ' वैदला ' इति सज्ञा न पुनः अन्वयार्थेन वैदलसज्ञा, एव हि विदलाना इति वैदला इति माषकुलत्थाषु अपि वैदलत्व स्यात्, तेन

" वल्लूर मूलक शुष्कशाकानि वैदलम् ।
वर्जयेच्चालुक गुल्मी मधुराणि फलानि च ॥ "
इत्यादिषु वैदलत्वेन मुद्गादिषु निषेधः, तेन गुल्मेषु
माषकुलत्थादयः न निषिध्यन्ते, न हि ते वैदला ॥ २७ ॥ "

(ii) K. M. Vaidya in his अष्टाङ्गहृदयकोष (Trichur, 1936, p 32) explains " अवरान्न " of अष्टाङ्गहृदय (सूत्र० ८) as " विदलान्नम् " which he specifies by the following verses —

" यवगोधूमचणका माषो मुद्गाढकी तथा ।
मकुष्टक' कुलत्थश्च मसूरस्त्रिपुटस्तथा ।
निष्पावक' कलायश्च विदलान्न प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ "

He further quotes *Bhāvamiśra* (C A. D 1550) —

" शमिजाः शिंबिजाः शिंबीभवाः सूप्याश्च वैदलाः "

and (on p 286) he equates " दलम् " of अष्टाङ्गहृदय (सूत्र २५) with दाली (Marathi डाळ) and quotes नृसिंह :—

" स्फोटस्तु चणकादीना दाली तु परिकीर्तिता "

The पाकविधि for दाली is given by भावमिश्र in the verses —

" दाली तु सलिले सिद्धा लवणार्द्रकहिंगुभिः । सयुक्ता सूपनाम्नी स्यात् etc "

1. Vide D R. Patil's remarks on *Food-grains* in his *Cultural History from Vayupurāṇa* (Poona, 1946, p. 211). I note some points from these remarks in the following table —

(*Continued on the next page*)

The quotation "खियानुपेतेन . ...परिचक्षते" has been traced by me in the आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र (*Patala* III, *Khanda* 8, *Sūtra* 3) edited by Cinnaswami Śāstri, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1928, p. 114, where it occurs as follows with its explanation by the commentators Haradatta and Sudarśanācārya :—

"खियानुपेतेन क्षारलवणावरान्नसंसृष्टस्य च होमं परिचक्षते ॥ ३ ॥"

Haradatta explains :—

"पाकयज्ञाधिकारे सर्वत्राय प्रतिषेध· श्राद्धादिषु अपि अवरान्नानि कोशीधान्यानि माषादीनि कृष्णधान्यानि चणककोद्रवादीनि परिचक्षते वर्जयन्ति शिष्टाः."

Āpastamba prohibits the use of क्षार, लवण and अवरान्न in a *homa* to be performed by a house holder. According to *Haradatta* (c.A.D. 1100 according to *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, Poona, 1937, p. 820) the term "अवरान्न" means "कोशी धान्य" (seeds produced in pod or legume) like माष etc. and "कृष्ण धान्य" (black or inferior grain) like चणक, कोद्रव etc. I believe this explanation of "अवरान्न" by *Haradatta* is in agreement with the explanation of *Indu* who calls it "द्विदल-सस्य-अन्न" i.e. food prepared from split grain or pulse. As a matter of fact we prepare in our cookery वरान्न or वरण[1] of the pulses of माष, चणक etc. *Sudarśanācārya*[2] explains the Sūtra of Āpastamba referred to above as follows·—

(*Continued from the preceding page*)

Ṛgveda — यव and धान्य mentioned — Few references to food grains—
Food-preparations —
ओदन, क्षीरोदन, मुद्गोदन, माषोदन, अपूप, पक्ति and करम्भ.

Brāhmaṇas — व्रीहि, प्रियङ्गु, तिल, गोधूम, माष mentioned — Oil from तिल

Jātakas—Field crops mentioned are — साली, व्रीहि, तण्डुल, यव, कङ्गु, कलाये, मुग्ग, मास, तिल, एरण्ड, मरीच, जीरक, सिद्धथक, लोन, अम्बिल, अद्दसिंगिवेर— Sugar-cane and its juice — Salt-makers mentioned.

Arthaśāstra — Elaborate account

1 Prof K. P Kulkarni in his *Vyutpattikośa* (1947, p. 612) makes the following entry about वरण :—

"वरण — न. शिजविलेल्या डाळीचा पदार्थ. A dish of pulse.
सं. वर + अन्न मूळ वरण शब्दाचें संस्कृतीकरण नंतर झालें असावें."

Prof. Kulkarni's statement that the original word वरण may have been later Sanskritised is not borne out by the history of this word and its usages in different forms like अवरान्न, वरान्न and वरण as recorded in this paper and the previous one on this subject. From अवरान्न the word वरान्न was derived and from वरान्न, the Marathi वरण.

2. The date of *Sudarśanācārya* has not been exactly determined. According to my evidence he is *later than A.D.* 1[illegible]0 *and earlier than A.D.* 1600 He is later than *Haradatta*, whom he quotes and refutes, and earlier than Kamalākarabhatta, the author of *Nirṇayasindhu*, (A.D.

(*Continued on the next page*)

" यवक्षाराभ्यां लवणेन च अवरान्नेन च कोशधान्यापरनाम्ना माषादिना तिलव्यतिरिक्तेन संसृष्टस्यापि भवति हविषो होमे प्रसक्ति तदुभयनिषेधार्थमाह – " स्त्रियानुपेतेन...... परिचक्षते " ॥ ३ ॥

स्त्रिया अनुपेतेन अनुपनीतेन च होमं होममात्र श्रौतं स्मार्तं च शिष्टा. परिचक्षते वर्जयन्ति यस्मात् तस्मादेव ताभ्यां न होतव्यमिति शेषः । "

Sudarśanācārya practically repeats the explanation of "अवरान्न" given by Haradatta, whom he quotes and criticizes at times in his commentary as observed by the Editor in his Introduction, p. 7. The term " कोशधान्य " of *Sudarśanācārya* appears to be identical with " कोशीधान्य " of *Haradatta*. It is clear from the explanations of these commentators, who are later than about A. D. 1100 that the term " अवरान्न " means *pulse-grains* used in cookery.

In continuing his comment on *Sūtra* 3 referred to above *Sudarśanācārya* refers to a passage in आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र which refers to " अवरान्न " as follows —

" यत्तु धर्मशास्त्रे ' न क्षारलवणहोमो विद्यते । तथावरान्नसंसृष्टस्य च ' (आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र २–१५–१२, १३) इति etc. "

The Sūtras of *Āpastamba* quoted by *Sudarśanācārya* in his comment are identical with the following Sūtras in Buhler's Edition of *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra* (B. S. Series, Poona, 1932) —

II, 6, 15, — Sūtras 14 and 15 —

" न क्षारलवणहोमो विद्यते ॥ १४ ॥
तथावरान्नसंसृष्टस्य च ॥ १५ ॥ "

On p. 179 we get the following extracts from Haradatta's commentary regarding the meanings of "क्षार" and " अवरान्न " :—

" १४. यद्यद् भक्ष्यमाण पश्यतो लालोत्पद्यते तत् क्षारम् ॥
१५ अवरान्न कुलत्थादि तत्संसृष्टान्नस्य होमो न विद्यते ॥ "

This explanation of *Haradatta* about " अवरान्न " agrees with his explanation of this term occurring in आपस्तम्ब-गृह्यसूत्र as we have seen above

It will thus be seen that through the favour of Haradatta I have been able to trace the term " अवरान्न " in the (1) आपस्तम्ब गृह्यसूत्र and (2) आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र as well These usages of the term " अवरान्न " are further corroborated by the बोधायनधर्मसूत्र (Mysore, 1907) *Praśna* IV, Chap. 7, *Sūtra* 7 as follows —

(Continued from the preceding page)

1613), who mentions *Sudarśanācārya* — Sudarśanācārya mentions स्मृत्यर्थसार (possibly of श्रीधर — C. A.D 1150-1250) and धूर्तस्वामिन् and कपर्दिस्वामिन्.

(*Prāyaścittas*)—" अभक्ष्याभोज्यापेयानाद्यप्राशनेषु तथाऽपण्यविक्रयेषु मधुमांसघृततैलक्षारलवणावरान्नवर्जेषु यच्चान्यदप्येवं युक्त द्वादशाहं द्वादश द्वादश प्राणायामान् धारयेत् ॥ ७ ॥"
Govindasvāmin in his commentary on the above *Sūtra* of Bodhāyana does not explain the term " अवरान्न. " He merely states " अपण्यानि अभक्ष्यादीनि मधुमांसादिवर्जितानि । "

The foregoing reference to " अवरान्न" in the *Bodhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra* is very important for my present inquiry as Prof. Kane [1] has fixed up the date of this work *between B. C. 500 and 200*. If this date is correct, the history of " अवरान्न ", which I have identified with Sanskrit " वरान्न " and Marathi " वरण " can be easily taken back to c.B.C. 500 i.e about 1000 years earlier than Vāgbhaṭa I, who mentions it in his *Aṣṭāṅga-Saṃgraha* (c A.D. 625). Bühler in his Introduction to the *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra* (p. xi) refers to the " close agreement of the *Hiraṇyakeśa-Dharmasūtra* with that of the Āpastambīyas." He further states that the foundation of the *Hiraṇyakeśa* school is earlier than Fleet's Pallava Inscription No. XV (*Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 153) which belongs to the " *end of the 5th century A. D.*" and which mentions a donee " हैरण्यकेश पष्टिकुमार ". He, therefore, asserts positively " that the readings of आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र, found in the हैरण्यकेश version are at least *fourteen hundred years old*. Probably however, the *Hiraṇyakeśa* school " dates from much earlier times. "

The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938, p. 250) mentions " अवरान्न " in *Sūtrasthāna*, Chap. 46, Verse 491, which reads as follows :—

" न चैकरससेवायां प्रसज्येत्त कदाचन ।
शाकावरान्नभूयिष्टमम्लं च न समाचरेत् ॥ ४९१ ॥ "

Dallaṇa (c. A. D. 1100) explains :—

" अवरान्नं वैदलान्नम् "

This is the earliest reference [2] to " अवरान्न " I have found in medical works. I give below a chronological table for the references to अवरान्न, वरान्न and वरण so far discovered by me and recorded in my present and previous paper on the subject —

1 Vide *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1930).

2. The reference to " अवरान्न " in the Aṣṭāṅga-Saṃgraha is an echo of Suśrutasaṃhitā reference. The Aṣṭāṅga-Saṃgraha refers to " अवरान्न " as follows in Chap. 10 of Sūtrasthāna —

" शाकावरान्न कट्वम्लकषायलवणोत्कटम् ।
त्यजेदेकरससात्म्य गुरु शुष्कं च भोजनम् ॥ "

Compare " शाकावरान्नभूयिष्ठमम्लं लवणं त्यजेत् " in अष्टाङ्गहृदय (N S Press, 1939, p. 157).

CHRONOLOGY	REFERENCE
B. C. 500–200	Reference to " अवरान्न", क्षार and लवण in the *Bodhayana-Dharmasūtra*
	Reference to "अवरान्न", क्षार and लवण in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.*
	Reference to " अवरान्न ", क्षार and लवण in the *Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra.*
Before A. D. 500	Reference to " अवरान्न " in *Suśrutasaṃhitā*
c. A. D. 625	" अवरान्न " mentioned in the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha*
c. A. D 700–900	" अवरान्न " mentioned in the *Aṣṭāṅga-Hṛdaya*
A. D 600–700	" वरान्न " mentioned in the *Varāṅga-Carita.*
A. D. 700–900	" अवरान्न " explained by Indu as " विदल-सस्य-अन्न ".
c. A. D. 1220	" अवरान्न " explained by Arunadatta as " माषादि ".
c. A. D. 1260	" अवरान्न " explained by Hemādri as " सूप "
c. A. D 1250	" वरण ", भात etc mentioned in Marathi लीळाचरित्र,
A. D. 1308	" वरण " mentioned in a Marathi work.
c. A. D 1450	" वरण " mentioned in Marathi स्मृतिस्थल
A. D. 1533–1599	" वरान्न " mentioned by Ekanātha in his Marathi poem रुक्मिणी-स्वयंवर
A. D 1599–1649	" वरान्न " mentioned by Mukteśvara in his Marathi वनपर्व
A. D 1729–1794	" वरण " mentioned in a Marathi work of Moropant

Having taken the history of our modern *Varaṇa* (with its different apellations अवरान्न, वरान्न, विदलान्न, विदल-सस्य-अन्न) upto about B c. 500 we are curious to know how this dish was prepared from the different pulses called " *Vaidalas* " by *Suśruta* and specified by him as मुद्ग, वनमुद्ग, कलाय, मकुष्ट, मसूर, मङ्गल्य, चणक, सतीन, त्रिपुटक, हरेणु, आढकी etc Our curiosity will be sufficiently satisfied if we read the following detailed description of विदलपाकसिद्धि (or preparation of वरण from different pulses) as recorded by king Someśvara in his encyclopaedic work *Mānasollāsa*[1] (*G O Series*, Baroda Vol. II, 1939) in the section called अन्नभोग (pages 115–136) —

1 The date of this work is recorded as "*A D 1127*" in the मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937 p 817 Someśvara ruled between A D 1126-1138. The chapter on cookery (अन्नभोग) records many dishes both vegetarian and non-vegetarian as current in the Deccan and Karnatak in the 12th century I note below names of these dishes and the materials used in them.—

(*Continued on the next page*)

" राजमुद्गास्तथा पीता निष्पा (पा) वाश्रणका अपि ॥ ५७ ॥
कृष्णावयास्तथा मापा मसूरा राजमापका. ।
सूपकर्मणि सहैते नियोज्याः सूपकारकै ॥ ५८ ॥
दलिताऽदलिताश्चैते पचनीया यथारुचि ।
चणका राजमापाश्च मसूरा राजमुद्गका. ॥ ५९ ॥
घरट्टैर्दलिता· कार्या पाकार्थं हि विचक्षणै· ।
किञ्चिद्भ्रष्टास्तथावय्यो यन्त्रावर्तैर्द्विधाकृता· ॥ ६० ॥
विदली च कृता· सम्यक् शूर्पकैर्वितुषीकृताः ।
स्थाल्या शीतोदक क्षिप्त्वा विदलैः सममानतः ॥ ६१ ॥
आवपेद्विदलान्पश्चाच्चुल्यामारोपयेत् ततः ।
मृद्वग्निपच्यमानेऽन्तर्हिङ्गुतोय विनिक्षिपेत् ॥ ६२ ॥
वर्णार्थं रजनीचूर्णमीषत्तत्र नियोजयेत् ।
मुहुर्मुहुर्क्षिपेत्तोय यावत्पाकस्य पूर्णता ॥ ६३ ॥
सुश्लक्ष्ण सैन्धव कृत्वा विंशत्यशेन निक्षिपेत् ।

(Continued from the previous page)

(a) भक्त from different kinds of rice (रक्तशालि, महाशालि, गधशालि, कलिङ्गक, मुण्डशालि, स्थूलशालि, सूक्ष्मशालि, षष्ठिक — verses 345-56) (b) विदलपाक from different pulses (verses 57-65), (c) सूप prepared of मसूर, माष, मुद्ग, हिङ्गु, आर्द्रक, वार्ताक, विसचक्रिका fried in oil, प्रियालबीज, bits of मेषमास, " मेदसः शकलानि ", मरिच, नागचूर्ण, श्यामाक, कङ्गु, नीवार, गन्धशालि etc. (verses 66-74), (d) पायस prepared of महिषीपयस्, (e) मण्डक[a] prepared of गोधूमचूर्ण, लवण, शालिचूर्ण, (f) अङ्गारपोलिका (82-83), (g) सोहला (84), (h) पाहलिका (85), (i) पूरिका (90) (j), घोसक from the pulses of चणक, माष, राजमाष and वट्टाणक (Marathi वाटाणा), (k) वटिका (94-99), (l) इडरिका (1100-1101), (m) धारिका (2-3), (n) काञ्जिकवटक (4), (o) Other kinds of वटक (5-8), (p) क्षीरप्रकार (9-14), (q) वर्षोलिक (15-17), (r) चक्कलिका (1166-40), (s) भडित्रक (59-65), (t) मासवटक (81) and its varieties भूषिका (81), कोशली (82), पूरभट्टाक (84) and वट्टिमक (87), (u) पञ्चवर्णी (88-91), (v) अन्त्रगुण्ठक (92-98), (w) वर्गगुण्ठक (1199-1501), (x) उत्क्वाथित सूप (1-9), (y) खारखण्ड (34), (z) नन्द्यावर्त (39), (ab) घृतकण्ट (42), (ac) पर्पट (49), (ad) मेथिकापर्पट (55), (ae) दधि, तक्र, मज्जिका, शिखरिणी, मस्तु (1570-1575), (af) व्यञ्जन (76-79), (ag) धूपकाञ्जिक, (ah) पानक (84), (ai) अन्न, पक्वान्न and पानक (88), (aj) वटक, पर्पट, खारखण्ड, उपखण्डक (94), (ak) शिखरिणी, मज्जिका तक्रान्न, क्षीर, काञ्जिक, माष with अम्ल, दुग्ध with शर्करा.

Some of the special dishes in the above list of about A D 1130 are not found in the chapters on कृतान्न in the Suśruta-Samhitā and Carakasamhitā. We must, therefore, see if they can be traced in other sources, Sanskrit or non-Sanskrit.

Somesvara's chapter on अन्नभोग needs to be published with translation in Marathi and English by the Editor of the आहार magazine, Bombay.

वर्णत· स्वाद्रुता (स्वादत·) गन्धान्मार्दवाल्लाघवादपि ॥ १४ ॥
एवं विदलपाकस्य सम्यक्सिद्धिरुदाहृता । ”

In this extract we get a beautiful detailed description of the preparation of वरण Someśvara tells us how the different kinds of pulse-grains should be ground in a घरट्ट and split in a यन्त्रावर्त and unhusked by a शूर्पक and then cooked with the addition of हिंगुतोय, रजनीचूर्ण (for colouring, वर्णार्थं) and सैन्धव. This process current about 800 years ago has practically remained unchanged upto the present day.

I hope some scholars interested in the history of Indian dietetics would throw some more light on the history of *Varaṇa*,[1] which I have tried to clarify so far on the strength of Sanskrit and Marathi sources available to me.



1 Tryambaka Nārāyana Māte, a Citpāvan Brahmin, refers to *Varaṇa* prepared from मुद्ग (Marathi मूग) and आढकी (Marathi तूर) in his *Dharmaśāstra* work called the आचारेन्दु (*Ānandāśrama*, Poona, 1909, p. 309) as follows —

" अथ सूपादिगुणा उच्यन्ते—
विशेषान्मुद्गकुल्माषो गुरु रुच्यो विबन्धकृत्
वातल· श्लेष्मपित्तघ्नः प्रमेहगलरोगिणः । मुगाचें वरण ॥
विशेषादाढकीसूपः स्वादु विष्टम्भकृद् गुरुः । तुरीचें वरण ॥ "

He also refers to " वरणातील मुट्कीं " .—

" सूपान्ननिष्कृता भक्ष्या वातला रूक्षशीतलाः ।
सक्तुस्नेहलवणान्भक्षयेदल्पशस्तु तान् । वरणातील मुट्कीं ॥ "

Other articles of diet mentioned by this author are —

जोंधळ्याच्या लाह्या, गव्हाच्या लाह्या, पोहे (पृथुक) (p. 300)—पुऱ्या, माडे, मोदक, रोट्या, गोधूमचूर्णरोट, पुरणाचे कानवले, वडे, फळें or पातकानवले (!), घारगे, क्षीरापूपाः (p. 301)—फेण्या, पोळिका, लाडू, करंजी, (p. 302) — साजा (p. 294) — आचारेन्दु was composed in A. D. 1838.

19. An Echo of the *Siege* of Jinji in a Sanskrit Grammatical Work*

(Between A. D. 1690 and 1710)

Varadarāja, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita[1] lived between c. A. D. 1600 and 1660.[2] He composed a Sanskrit conversational grammar called the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*[3] in which conversation in Sanskrit on the daily life of a Benares Brahmin from morning to night is recorded in a simple but amusing style to enable junior students of Sanskrit to pick up the language quickly without frightening them with dry grammatical forms. The only imitation of the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* of Varadarāja, so far as I know, is the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* of Dhuṇḍirāja which is called गीर्वाणवाग्मञ्जरी at the beginning of the work.[4] As this work appears to be an imitation of Varadarāja's work of the same name it is evidently later than about A. D. 1650. The evidence recorded in this paper tends to shift its date later than A. D. 1700 or so.

The *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* (Ms No. 345 of 1892-95) informs us in its five preliminary verses that it was composed by Dhuṇḍirāja Kavi, resident of Benares. It further states the object of the work viz. to provide a sort of conversational grammar to the students of Sanskrit. The subject of conversation, which fills the entire work, consists of all the doings of a Brahmin householder of Benares from morn till eve. Accordingly the work begins with the early rising of the Brahmin After some conversation with his wife the Brahmin proceeds for his daily bath to the *Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ* on the bank of the river Ganges, but before he leaves his house he rebukes his indolent son still rolling in his bed The son gets up and receives his father's instructions to proceed to the market for some purchases to be made in connection with the dinner to be given to Brahmins at his house at noon. The Brahmin then goes to the Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ, recites the usual *Mantras* and finishes his bath in the Ganges. He then

* *Journal of S. M Library*, Tanjore, Vol V, No. 3 pp 1-13.

1. Vide my paper on the date of Bhattoji Dikṣita in the Annals of Tirupati Ori. Institute, Vol. I, pp. 117—127.

2. Vide my paper on Varadarāja in the Festschrift P. V. Kane, pp 168-169

3. For Mss see Aufrecht, Cata. Catalo, p. 164.

4. The B O. R. Institute (Govt. Mss Library) possesses three Mss of Dhuṇḍirāja's work — (i) No 21 of 1919—24, (ii) No 345 of 1892—95 and No. 13 of 1898—99 (dated Śaka 1762 – A. D. 1840). Ms No 21 of 1919—24 belonged to one 'आहिताग्नि पराञ्जप्ये यज्ञेश्वरभट्ट'

worships the God in the adjoining temple and then goes to a *Matha* which was the dwelling place of Benares Sanyāsins There were many Sanyāsins in this *Matha*, among whom the Brahmin noticed an old corpulent Sanyāsin Bowing low he approached this Sanyāsin and invited him cordially for dinner that noon. The Sanyāsin made inquiries about the caste of his host The Brahmin replied that he was a *Mahārāṣṭra* (Brahmin). Thereupon the Sanyāsin accompanied the Brahmin to his house. The host then washed the feet of the Sanyāsin, with his own hands and seated him on a special seat. The Sanyāsin as also other Brahmins assembled were then served with sumptuous food. At the conclusion of the dinner the host gave a handful of cloves to the Sanyāsin, while he distributed *Tāmbūla* and *Dakṣiṇā* to other guests, who departed with their blessings for the host. The Sanyāsin then made some inquiries about the members of the host's family, including the women-folk. He also inquired about the studies conducted by the host in Bengal (*Gaudadeśa*) and at Benares Then followed an interesting discourse on certain customs which were considered evil customs (*Durācāras*) in different regions of India, for instance the southern custom of marrying the daughter of maternal uncle, the fish eating by Brahmins of Bengal and the like There was also some discussion between the host and the Sanyāsin on many matters of mutual interest. Just before the Sanyāsin took leave of his host, the host requested him to give him some particulars about his life as a householder. The Sanyāsin requested his host not to raise this question as it will bring to him memories of his past glory, which were very painful. As the host, however, was very eager to know something of this past glory the Sanyāsin narrated his story as follows —

Folios 12–13 of Ms [1] No 345 of 1894–95 (= A)

' अरे पूर्वाश्रमे अस्माकं कर्नाटकदेशे चजीग्राम [2] एव तर्हि पूर्वाश्रमे अस्माकं कर्ता। श्रीमता को वा वृत्तिस्थिता । अरे तत्किमपि मा पृच्छस्व । तत्किमपि वक्तु नोत्सहे । हन्त हे स्वामिनः मम

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1 There is a Ms of the work in the India Office Library (Vide p 1574 of Cata. Part VII, 1904—Ms No 4109)

This Ms is described as "a collection of easy continuous sentences on ordinary domestic occurrences intended to serve as a primer and variously called भाषामञ्जरी, गीर्वाणवाग्मञ्जरी or गीर्वाणशब्दपदमञ्जरिका compiled at Benares by Dhundirāja, son of Śrīrangabhaṭṭa. The Ms ends —

" श्रीरङ्गभट्टसुत-धुण्ढिकवीश्वरेण गीर्वाणशब्दपदमञ्जरिकाद्वरेण ।
नीता समाप्तिमपि ता विबुधा सुधावत् । दृष्ट्वा पिबन्तु सुरसा कृपयैव तावत् ॥ "

2. Ms No. 21 of 1919—24 = B reads वीजापुरग्राम instead of चजीग्राम.

No 13 of 1898—99 (= C) merely states ' कर्नाटकदेश ग्रामः.' Neither चजी nor वीजापुर is mentioned.

श्रो(श्रो)तुमिच्छा वर्तते । श्रूयतामेव । अरे मया पूर्वाश्रमे व्य(व)सायवृत्त्या स्थित. यदि दिल्लीश्वरस्य अमात्य असतखान इति[1] तस्य पुत्र जुलफकारखान्[2] स यदा दिग्विजयार्थ[3]मागतस्तदा तस्य निकटे मया भूरिदिवपर्यन्तं व्यवयितम् । तदा अस्माक निकटे सहस्रद्वय अश्वा[4] स्थिताः । दशसहस्रपरिचाणः (राः ?)[5] स्थिता चत्वारिंशद्दन्तिन· स्थिताः । बहवो उष्ट्राः स्थिताः । बहवो रथा स्थिता. । तदा मद्गेहे चतस्र. पल्यङ्कयः स्थिताः । कतिशो भारवाहकाः शकटा. स्थिताः । पूर्वमस्माकं गृहे षोडशदास्याः अतिसुं(द)र्यो स्थिता. । तासा लावण्यं वर्तनुं[6] न शक्यम·[7] । तादृशी मम गृहीण्यपि नासीत् । ताः सर्वा मम सेवायां अति तत्परा स्थिता । तासु एका अतिशोभना स्थिता । तस्या. गुणः तस्या सौन्दर्यं किं वर्णनीयम् । केवलमपरा देवाङ्गनेव स्थिता । तस्या मम रुचिरतीव स्थिता । मा विना तस्या अपि न कुत्रापि नागतम् । अरे पूर्वं मम निकटे कतिशो वाराङ्गना स्थिताः । ता मम बाहुनामतिके सदैव आसन् । तास्वपि एका अतीव लावण्यवती स्थिता । तस्या कण्ठस्य माधुर्यंगीतनृत्यादिक तथा आलापा निनयश्चैव वर्णितुं नैव शक्यते । अधुनापि यदा तस्याः स्मरण जायते तदा मम मन कुत्रापि न लगति । तत्किं वक्तव्यं स्वभवेत्[8] तत्स्मरणम् । अरे पूर्वं मद्गृहे प्रत्यह शतसः ब्राह्मणा भोक्तार. स्थिता. । तैः साकं मया मुहुर्त्ताभ्यन्तरमेव भोक्तव्यम् । तथैव बहवो अन्नार्थिन[9]स्तथा कतिशा याचका. । अन्येपि ये ये अर्थिन मां प्रति आगता तेषा सर्वेषा मनोवाञ्छितं मया दत्तं मम प्रभुतायां सस्य मत्सकाशात् कोपि निराशतया नागमत् । पूर्वमेतादृशी प्रभुता स्थिता । अधुना अनुभूतमपि तत्सर्वं स्वप्नप्रायं भासते । तस्य स्मरणेपि महती व्यथा जायते । तर्हि स्वामिनः पूर्वमेतादृशो वैभवस्थित. सहसा तत्सर्वं कुत्र गतम् । तत्र किं कारण जातम् । अरे शृणु । मया कस्मिन् दिने योषिद्भिः सह रहसि सौधान्तरे स्थितः । तस्मिन् काले मम प्रभुणा आकारित. । द्विवारं आहूत[10] प्रेषितः । सौन्दर्यवशात्[11] सुखोत्कर्षं त्यक्त्वा न गतम् । तथा भूयोपि अनुचर. प्रेषित. । तथापि मया न गतं दुर्वीकारणात् । अतीव क्रुद्ध. तेन अकस्मात् एकस्मिन् समयावच्छेदेन[12] सहस्रचतुष्टयाश्वराणा[13] सेनानी प्रेषितः । तदा ममानुयायिन· असन्नद्धा[14] स्थिता । तदा तेन घटिकाद्वयाभ्यन्तर सर्वं

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1 B 'यदा इन्द्रप्रस्थे अमात्यः असतखान इति'

2 B 'जुल्फदारखान' and C 'जुल्फगारखानः'

3 B, C 'दिग्विजयार्थम्'

4 B 'अश्वचाराः'

5 B 'पादचाराः'

6 B 'वर्णितुं'

7 B adds 'सा कथंभूता । पद्मनेत्रद्वयं यस्या· वक्त्र चन्द्रोपम शुभम् । स्मरपाशोपमौ कर्णौ कपोलौ चन्द्रकोऽऽवलौ ॥ नासिका तिलपुष्पाभा कामचापोपमौ भ्रुवौ । दशना हीरकैस्तुल्या बिम्बोपमिता धरा ॥ मयूरस्य कलापेन तुल्यं कचनिबन्धनम् । दंसरेखात्रयेणापि कण्ठदेशो विराजते ॥ स्वल्पक मध्यदेश च मुष्टिग्राह्यं तु केवलम् ॥ नाभिमण्डलमध्यस्थं लावण्यं केन गृह्यते ॥ रम्भोपमौ ऊरुजवे भुजौ कमलदण्डकौ । चरणं स्थलकमलाभं नगिनंदितनूपुरम् ॥ इत्यादि । '

8 B 'स्मरत्' 9 B adds 'तथैव वस्त्रार्थिनः' 10 B 'दूत.'

11 B, C 'संपर्कवशात्' 12 B 'एकसमयावच्छेदेन' 13 B 'अश्वचाराणा'

14 B 'असन्नद्धाः'

लुंठित । मामपि गृहीत्वा भुजबन्धनं[1] विधाय नीत । तदा प्रभुना अतीव निर्भर्त्सितम् । मासचतुष्टय-पर्यन्तं तस्य कारगृहे स्थितम् । पश्चाछृङ्खलामोचन जातम् । तद्दिनारभ्य मम मनसि अतीव अनुतापो जात । तदाह सर्वकुटुम्बादिकं तत्का (त्यक्त्वा) कुरुक्षेत्र गत । तत्र कियद्दिनपर्यन्तं ततो[2] अनुष्ठितम् । तत्रैव सन्यासो गृहीतः । पश्चादिह आगतम् । तर्हि स्वामिनः श्रीमतां तुर्याश्रमं गृहीत्वा कति वर्षाणि जातानि । अरे मम द्वादश वर्षाणि[3] जातानि । एतावद्दिनपर्यन्तं तीर्थाटन कृतम् । सांप्रतं मासचतुष्टयं जातम् । रहागत्य[4] अधुना सर्वं त्यक्त्वा मणिकर्णिका[5] सेवयामि । एव तर्हि सम्यक् क्रियते स्वामिन ।

विश्वेश्वरसमो देव. क्षेत्र वाराणसीसमम् ।
मणिकरणसमं तीर्थं नास्ति ब्रह्माण्डगोलके ॥

एवमुक्त वर्तते[6] ' etc.

The substance of the above interesting extract is as follows —

The Sanyāsin in his life of a house-holder belonged to चजी or वीजापूर village in the Karnātak. The Emperor of Delhi had a minister named *Āsatkhan* His son *Zulfikar Khan* started on a military expedition and came to Karnatak. At this time this (Sanyāsin) Brahmin was in his company for several days with 2000 horses, 10000 servants, 40 elephants and many camels and chariots He had in his house four palanquins and several coolies and carts He had in his house sixteen maid servants of unparalleled beauty who were extremely devoted to his service His own wife was not so beautiful as these maid-servants. One of them was extremely lovely and for her he developed a special liking She was always by his side, possessing, as she did, a sweet voice coupled with a proficiency in singing and dancing She was a veritable celestial damsel. Even though he had become a Sanyāsin a recollection of this damsel unsettled his mind as it was no more than a dream.

Formerly in his house hundreds of Brahmins were fed. He also fed many beggars and others who needed food During the days of his power no person who wanted anything from him, went away disappointed as he granted the requests of every one, who approached him with any object in view Such was the glory of the householder of old but now it looked like a dream and brought a very painful memory.

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1 B 'चतुर्भुजम्' 2 B 'तपो' 3 B चातुर्मास्यानि'
4 B 'इहागत्य' 5 B adds 'विश्वेश्वरम्'

6 I have not noted all the variants but only important ones. Though the text is incorrect, the sense can be easily gathered as the text is written in the Pañcatantra prose style to a certain extent. The method of teaching Sanskrit composition as illustrated by the works of Varadarāja and his imitator Dhundirāja about [illegible]50 years ago has a modernistic touch. It remains to be discovered if our ancient teachers of Sanskrit adopted similar methods to create some interest among their students in the manner of these works

On being questioned as to how and why all this glory of the house-holder disappeared, the Sanyāsin stated as follows .—

While the house-holder was absorbed in enjoyment in the company of young women he received orders from his lord (Zulfikar Khan). No attention was paid to these orders, so he sent a messenger a second time. Even then he did not leave the house, being absorbed in the enjoyment of the highest pleasure derived from his addiction to the beauty (of these young women). Zulfikar Khan sent a messenger for the third time and still this grandee paid no heed to his orders. This conduct enraged his master, who immediately despatched his commander with 4000 horsemen. All the followers of this grandee were unprepared and consequently within a very short time all the property of the grandee was looted and the grandee himself was hand cuffed and brought before his master (Zulfikar Khan) who severely scolded the grandee and kept him in confinement for four months Later he was released. Since the day of his release the grandee was stung with remorse He then went to Kurukṣetra (Delhi), abandoning his family etc , and there practised penance for some days. He then became a Sanyāsin and then went to Benares. Twelve years had elapsed since he became a Sanyāsin. After wandering to different holy places (tīrthas) he resorted to Benares, where he had completed a four months' stay when his host [1] met him (and invited him for dinner). The Sanyāsin expressed his resolve to devote himself to *Maṇikarṇikā*.

The host, after hearing this story of the early life of the Sanyāsin, expressed his admiration for the step taken by the Sanyāsin because it is said .—

" On this globe there is no parallel to the god Viśveśvara, his abode Benares and its holy place *Maṇikarṇikā* "

I have now to make the following remarks on the *Story of the Brahmin grandee of Karnatak* as disclosed incidentally in the *Gīrvāṇapada-mañjarī* of Dhuṇḍirāja, the son of Śrīraṅgabhaṭṭa of Benares —

1. This story, though introduced in the work for literary embellishment, appears to me to be a true historical story. The story was too vivid to be idealised by our author by dropping its reference to *Asathkhan* and

1 This host appears to me to be identical with Dhuṇḍirāja himself, the author of the Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī. I have suggested in the sequel that this romantic story of the early life of the Sanyāsin is a true story inserted by our author in his work for literary embellishment. No such story appears in the Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī of Varadarāja. Dhuṇḍirāja though an imitator of Varadarāja, is certainly original in inserting this romantic story with a tragic touch in his own work and thus relieving the monotony of his imitation.

his son *Zulfikar Khan* and their military expedition (दिग्विजय) to *Karnatak* on behalf of the Mogul Emperor (Aurangzeb) at Delhi.

2 Our Brahmin grandee was obviously in the employ of Zulfikar Khan or at least he paid his allegiance to this general and hence the latter is aptly called *Prabhu* or overlord of the former in the story before us.

3. The identification of this Brahmin grandee of Karnatak and his relation to Zulfikar Khan has become difficult as the name of the grandee is not recorded in the story and further while one Ms makes him a resident of चंजी[1] another Ms variant makes him a resident of वीजापुर. The third Ms drops any reference to these villages.

4. *Āsatkhan*[2] mentioned as the minister of the Delhi Emperor and his son *Zulfikar Khan*[3] are historical personages.

5. I am of opinion that the *Karnatak Digvijaya* (Expedition to Karnataka) by Zulfikar Khan, son of Āsatkhan, is identical with his celebrated siege of Jinji (1690–1698 A D.). It was a long drawn-out siege by the forces of Aurangzeb lasting for seven years or so. Rajaram Chatrapati, the second son of Shivaji the Great, ruled at Gingee or Jinji, where he was besieged by the Mogul forces under Zulfikar Khan for seven years and from which he finally escaped. This siege had captured the imagination of the people of the Maharashtra and the Karnatak so much

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1 *Canji* = modern *Gingee*, a once celebrated hill fortress in South Arcot, 50 miles north east of Cuddalore and 35 miles north west from Pondicherry and at one time the seat of a Maratha Principality It is spelt severally as *Gingie*, *Jinjee*, *Chengi*, *Chenjie* (Vide p 376, of *Hobson—Jobson*, 1903, by Yule and Burnell) Yule observes —"*Ginji* or *Jinjeo*, properly *Chenji*.
[*Shenji*, and this from Tamil Shingi, Skt Sringi, a "hill" *Usages* — 1616 A D (Ginja), A D 1675 (*Chengie*), A. D 1680 (*Chengy*), A D 1752 *Gingee*]

2 He is identical with *Asad Khan*, the prime-minister of Aurangzeb He had gone to Jinjee to help his son Zulfikar Khan (Vide p 76 of *Madhyayugina Caritrakośa*) Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1891, p 80) states that *Asad Khan* was descended from an illustrious family of Turkmans. His former name was *Ibrahim* He was made second Bakshi by Shah Jahan. He held this office till 1671 A D Later he was made *Wazir* by Aurangzeb Bahadur Shah made him *Wakil* Mutlaq (an office superior to Wazir) and his son Ismail was made chief paymaster (Mir Bakshi) with the title "Umra *Zulfikar Khan*" Farrukshiar, however, disgraced him and his son was put to death He died 90 years old in A. D 1717.

3. He is identical with *Zulfikar Khan*, the son of *Asad Khan* referred to above (A D. 1657—1712) He laid siege to the fort of Jinji for 6/7 years (A. D 1691—97) but it was a complete failure. He also invaded Tanjore and Trichinopoly Farrukshiar put him to death in A. D 1712 (Vide p 117 of *Madhyayugina Caritrakośa*) Beal (*O B Dict.*) p 420, does not refer to the Siege of Jinji laid by Zulfikar Khan. According to Vincent Smith (p 411 of *Oxford History of India* 1923) "Zulfikar Khan deliberately played with the siege of Jinji and purposely allowed Rajaram to escape."

n those days that it found *reflection* in contemporary *documents* and literature.[1] It is no wonder, therefore, that it should capture the imagination and busy pen of modern historians like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Rao Bahadur G. S Sardesai, Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari and others. In particular Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari's monumental volume on the "*History of Gingee and its rulers*" (Annamalai University Series No. 2) recently published reveals that this history has besieged its learned author for about 32 years since he first brought out an account of it in 1912 and I wonder, if Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari has yet succeeded in making his escape from this Gingee, like Rajaram of old. Chapter VII of this delightful volume is devoted to the Mughal Siege and and Capture of Gingee" (pp. 286–350) 1690–1698 A. D. Some facts from this chapter may be noted below to enable us to understand the historical background of the reference to the *Karnataka Digvijaya* of Zulfikar Khan in the *Girvāṇapalamañjarī* of Dhuṇḍirāja —

June 1690—Zulfikar Khan (= Z) who invested Raigad, was despatched by Aurangzeb to Karnatak to crush the Maratta power at Jinji or Gingee.

Sept. 1690—Z reaches Gingee.

April 1691—The Mogal army under Z had become powerful and well provisioned for a serious assault — No decisive success for the imperialists in 1691.

December 1691—Asad Khan, the father of Z, and Prince Kam Baksh reach Gingee under orders of Aurangzeb.

1692 — The procrastination of Z in his operations.

1693 — Z and his father in great straits – Emperor displeased with Asad Khan.

1694 — Asad Khan restored to King's favour according to a letter from

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1 See the *Rājārāma Carita* by Keśava Paṇḍita (ed by V S. Bendre, Poona) which describes in Sanskrit verses the march of Rajarama Chatrapati to Jinji Dr S. M. H. Nainar published in 1933 a Tamil Mono Drama called "*Sejda-K-Kadi Nondi-Natakam*" (*Annals of Oriental Research*, Madras University, Vol IV, Part I). The author of the drama appears to have been a convert to Islam. The *Drama* is a contemporary picture of the siege of Jinji and is full of references to the Mogal commanders under *Zulfikar Khan* and Maratha commanders under Rajaram. The *Sāhendravilāsa Kāvya* by Śrīdhara Venkaṭeśa refers to the siege of Jinji (Vide p. 151 ff of *Indian Antiquary*, 1931). Rajaram received help from the then Raja of Tanjore —

'पठैमंहाराज भवन्निदेशाद्दिल्लीन्द्रसैन्यानि विद्रावितानि ।

स राजरामश्च कथान्निगुप्तस्त्वद्भ्चाति स्वा महती यशः श्री. ॥'

Vide Annals (B O R Institute) Vol XX, pp 235 ff — my article on some verses by Keśava Paṇḍita, the author of राजारामचरित.

Fort St. George -- Z renews siege operations, which were regarded as a mere show to deceive the Emperor.

1695--An uneventful year Z receives 3 lacs of rupees from the Mogul Court and captures a few forts from the Marattas. A large Maratta army under Santaji and Dhanaji Jadhav approached Gingee towards the close of the year

1696—Z feels extreme want of money Z defeats Santaji near Arni.

1697—Z renews attack on Gingee.

1698-- Rajaram escapes with four or five thousand Marattas to Vellore according to a letter from Fort St. George– Capture of Gingee by Z "between *28th December 1697 and 5th January 1698*"–Z renamed Gingee as "*Nasratgaddah*" after his own title "Nasrat Jang"– Z appoints Gussafar Khan as Killedar of Gingee Zulfikar Khan left the Karnatak after about a year from the fall of Gingee.[1]

Such in brief is the chronology of the *Karnataka Digvijaya* of Zulfikar khan mentioned incidentally in the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* without any details. It is, therefore, clear that this work was composed some time after A.D. 1698. As regards the exact date of its composition I may note here the following facts which might enable us to fix this date within reasonable limits.–

1. The Brahmin grandee was in the employ of Zulfikar Khan some time *after September 1690* when Z reached Gingee Perhaps Z wanted to make use of him against the Marathas under Rajaram in the Gingee fortress.

2 Perhaps the arrest of this Brahmin grandee took place about A D 1691–92 If this suggestion is accepted we have to suppose that he migrated to Kuruksetra or Delhi after four months, imprisonment by Z and subsequent release We may, therefore, suppose that he wandered outside Karnatak in Northern India as a Sanyāsin for 12 years as stated by him between say A D 1690 and 1702 and then reached Benares.

3 The grandee was invited for dinner by his Benares host within 4 months of his stay at Benares in the Matha of the Sanyāsins say in A D 1702–1703

4 As Dhundirāja records the story of the Brahmin grandee as an event of fresh occurrence we may not be wrong in presuming that the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* was composed say *between A. D 1702 and 1704*

1 Mr V L. Kale of Belgaum has written a historical romance in Marathi called 'जिजीवास' or 'छत्रपति राजाराममहाराज' which describes how the machinations of Aurangzeb were successfully checkmated by the Marathas under Rajaram. An English translation of the romance by Mrs Smith was published in 1933.

5. We may, however, tentatively fix the date of this work between A. D. 1690 and 1710. At any rate this grammatical work is definitely later than A. D. 1690 when Zulfikar Khan reached Gingee.

Having recorded the historical evidence to explain the story of the Brahmin grandee of Karnatak as recorded in a work composed at Benares after A D. 1690 and possibly before A. D. 1710, I now turn to the question of deciding the native place of this grandee. In this connection the following points may be noted —

1. All the three Mss of the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* before me state that the native place of the grandee was in Karnatak country (कर्नाटकदेशे)

2. One Ms mentions this native place as 'चंजीग्राम,' another gives us 'बीजापुरग्राम' while the third Ms does not specify the name. In view of the reference to the कर्नाटकदिग्विजय of Asaf Khan's son Zulfikar Khan under orders of the Delhi Emperor as made in the work, I am inclined to believe that our Brahmin grandee belonged to चंजीग्राम and not बीजापुरग्राम. Zulfikar Khan left for चंजी in *June 1690* and reached it in *September 1690.* There was hardly any time for him to camp at Bijapur (बीजापूर of Ms) and keep this grandee in confinement for 4 months after looting his property.

3. Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari [1], states that Gingee was called as follows by different people :—

(i) *Badshabad* by Bijapur authorities, who held the fort between A D. 1660 and 1677.

(ii) *Chandry* or *Chindy* by Marathas.

(iii) *Nasrat Gaddah* by the the Moguls after 1698.

(iv) *Gingee or Jinji*, by the French.

(v) *Chingee or Chengy*, in early Madras records.

(vi) The fort has retained the name *Gingee*, the English form of the Tamil word *Senji*.

It is clear from the above names of Gingee that चंजी of the Ms of the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* is identical with modern *Gingee*.

4. It is possible to suppose that this Brahmin grandee of Gingee was a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin residing on the outskirts of the Gingee fort or in the Gingee territory about A. D. 1690 He must have joined Zulfikar Khan about this time but Zulfikar Khan found him too much addicted to the pleasures of life to be used in his *Digvijaya* and hence made short work of him and his property as explained by the grandee himself. Possibly the Brahmin host who entertained him at a dinner at Benares is

1. [illegible] of *History of Gingee* on the Origin of the name Gingee.

identical with Dhundirāja himself, the author of the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī.* When this work was being composed the author may have invited this Sanyāsin for dinner and learned this story of his early life first-hand from the Sanyāsin. This real story being colourful, romantic and vivid, the author could not avoid the temptation of pushing it in his work in its appropriate context.

I have given in the foregoing lines my interpretation of the story of the Gingee grandee as found in the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* of Dhuṇḍirāja. This interpretation needs to be verified by scholars like my friend Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari who have made a close study of contemporary sources regarding the siege of Gingee (A. D. 1690-1698). Dhuṇḍirāja's work as also Varadarāja's work of the same name ought to be critically edited and kept before the students of the cultural history of Benares in the 17th century. I trust, therefore, that the present paper would attract the attention of scholars to the valuable cultural contents of these works which give us a peep into the cultural life of the Benares Brahmins in the 17th century, which produced celebrities like Gāgābhatta, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa and others.

It appears that Dhuṇḍirāja the author of the *Gīrvānapadamañjarī* was a Brahmin of the *Madhva* sect as will be seen from the following evidence –

1. The Brahmin Sanyāsin when invited for dinner by his Benares host inquired—

‘ अरे वव का वा जाति ’ (What is your caste ?)

The host replied—

‘स्वामिनो अह महाराष्ट्रोऽस्मि’ (My good sir, I am a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin)

The Sanyāsin said—

‘ एव किल । तर्हि माहाराष्ट्राणा गृहे अस्मादीना भिक्षात्तु अतीव शस्ता ’ ।

(If that is so, I very much prefer to have alms in the home of Mahārāstra Brahmins)

The disguised identity of the Benares host with the author of the work is too transparent to be concealed.

2. In the discussion on evil customs (*durācāras*) of different provinces the Benares host tells the Sanyāsin as follows —

‘महाराष्ट्र विना सर्वासु जातिपु कश्चित् कश्चित् दुराचारास्तिष्ठत्येव। महाराष्ट्रेष्वपि ये मध्वा: वर्तन्ते तेपा दुराचारस्य लवलेशोऽपि न दृश्यते ।’

(Among all castes excepting those in Mahārāstra some kind of evil custom prevails Even among Mahārāstra people the members of the *Madhva* sect have no evil custom whatsoever)

The Sanyāsin observed :—

' इदं त्वया सत्य उक्तं मयापि अनुभूतं वर्तते '

(You have spoken the truth. I too have realised this truth.)

The host remarked :—

' स्वामिनः नो चेत् अनृतमुच्यते किम् '

(If I have not spoken the truth, do you think I have told you a false thing ?)

The foregoing extracts amply suggest that our author Dhuṇḍirāja was a *Mahārāṣṭra* Brahmin of the *Madhva* sect.

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20. Some Distinctive Names of Horses recorded by Hemacandra in his Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, by Someśvara in his Mānasollāsa and by Jayadatta in his Aśvavaidyaka — between A. D 1000 and 1200 *

Hemacandra (A. D. 1088—1172) records in his lexicon, *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi* the following names of horses according to their *colours* (varna) :—

No.	Name	Colour	Hemacandra's explanation J = जयदत्त, S = सोमेश्वर
1	कर्क	सित	करोति प्रमोद कर्क " कृगो वा " (उणा-२३) इति क. (*Amarakośa* mentions कर्क as the name of a white horse सित: कर्क:)
2	कोकाह (J—1)	Do	कोकवत् आहन्ति भुव कोकाह.
3	खोङ्गाह (J—2)	श्वेतपिङ्गल	खमुद्गाहते खोङ्गाह , पृषोदरादित्वात्, श्वेत-श्चासौ पिङ्गलश्च श्वेतपिङ्गल
4	सेराह (J—6) (S—5)	पीयूपवर्ण	पीयूप अमृतं दुग्ध वा तद्वद्वर्णोऽस्य पीयूपवर्णः तत्र सीरवदाहन्ति भुव सेराह
5	हरिय (J—3)	पीत	हरि वर्णं याति हरिय
6	खुङ्गाह (J—2)	कृष्णवर्ण	खुरैर्गाहते खुङ्गाह.
7	क्रियाह	लोहित	क्रियां न जहाति
8	आनील. (J—8) (S—7)	नीलक	नील एव नीलक
9	त्रियूहः (J—9)	कपिल	त्रीन् यूथति त्रियूह
10	वोल्लाह (J—21)	कपिल and इकेशरवालधि	अय त्रियूह एव व्योम्नि उल्लङ्घते वोल्लाह

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No.	Name	Colour	Hemacandra's explanation J=जयदत्त; S=सोमेश्वर
11	उराह· (J—14) (S—13)	मनाक् पांडु and कृष्णजङ्घ	उरसा आहन्ति उराह.
12	सुरूहक· Cf सरुराहक (J—21)	गर्दभाभ	सुखेन रोहति सुरूहकः
13	वोरुखान (J—15)	पाटल	वैरिण खनति वोरुखानः
14	कुलाह· (J—13)	मनाक् पीत कृष्ण स्यात् यदि जानुनि	कुलम् आजिहीते कुलाह.
15	उकनाह (J—16)	पीतरक्तच्छायः and कृष्णरक्तच्छाय	उच्चैर्नह्यते उकनाह. । स एव उकनाह. कृष्णरक्तच्छायः सन् क्वचि-दुच्यते
16	शोण	कोकनदच्छवि.	शोणः शोणवर्ण·
17	हरिक: (J—8)	पीतहरितच्छायः	हरिरेव हरिक
18	हालक	Do	हलति क्ष्मां हालकः
19	पङ्गुल· Cf. पिङ्गल (S—20)	सितकाचाभ·	पङ्गून् लाति पङ्गुल
20	हलाह· (J—11) (S—18)	चित्रित	चित्रितो कर्बूरवर्णो हलवदाहन्ति हलाह.

Hemacandra concludes the above list of different horses (*Bhumi-kāṇḍa*, verses 303—309) with the remark "खोङ्गाहादयः शब्दा देशीप्रायाः । व्युत्पत्तिस्त्वेषां वर्णानुपूर्व्या निश्चयार्थम्" (These names खोङ्गाह and others are for the most part देशी Their derivation is based on the different colours of horses for distinctive purposes). The statement of Hemacandra that these names for differently coloured horses are "देशीप्रायाः" shows that he was not sure that they were definitely देशी words in all cases. It is, however, clear that these names were current in Hemacandra's time, i.e., in the 11th century. Let us now see if these names, or at least some

of them are traceable in other Sanskrit texts, not much removed in point of chronology from Hemacandra's time. In fact in the *Section on the game of Polo* called the वाजिवाह्यालीविनोद in the encyclopaedic work मानसोल्लास [1] (or अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि) composed about *A. D. 1130* (*i e*, when Hemacandra was about 42 years old) by King Someśvara of the Cālukya dynasty we find some of these names recorded. In this section the king is advised to examine the different kinds of horses of different breeds and colours brought before him by the officer in charge of the horses. The king was to understand their kinds by the countries they came from. The names of different countries from which the horses took their origin are mentioned by Someśvara. He also mentions the distinctive marks on the body of a horse and classifies the horses according to *colours* and *castes*, which are four in number. He mentions further the peculiarities of different kinds of horses including those in respect of the formation of their bodies. Here he describes the पञ्चकल्याण and अष्टमङ्गल horses. The speeds of horses are then classified as, *high*, *middling* and *low*. Signs of bad horses are also recorded. The methods of punishing and breaking raw horses to make them fit for training are enumerated. When the training is complete these horses were to be used by the king. The best horse was to be fitted with the best saddle, ornaments, etc and used by the king

Before recording the names of horses according to *colour* (वर्ण) Someśvara observes —

> " श्वेत कृष्णोऽरुण पीत शुद्धाश्चत्वार. एव हि ।
> मिश्रास्त्वनेकधा वर्णास्तेषा भेद प्रवक्ष्यते ॥ ८२ ॥ "

(*White*, *black*, *red* and *yellow* are four pure colours. Mixtures of these are numerous and they will be stated and their distinctions pointed out).

The following table will show at a glance the names recorded by Someśvara for horses of different *colours* and *castes*.—

1. Ed. in *G O Series*, Baroda, Vol. II (1939), pp. 211 ff See also Intro., p 31.

No क्रम	Name नाम	Colour वर्ण	Caste जाति	Description विवरण
१	कक (र्क) (हे–१)	श्वेत	विप्र	केशा वालाश्च रोमाणि वर्त्मे चैव खुरास्तथा । श्वेतैरेतैर्भवेदश्व कका(र्का)ह्रो विप्रजातिजः ॥८३॥
२	कत्तल	शुक्ल or श्वेत	...	पूर्ववत्सर्वशुक्लाङ्गस्त्वचा कृष्णो भवेद्यदि । वर्णनाम्ना स विज्ञेय. कत्तलोऽय तुरङ्गमः ॥ ८४ ॥
३	काल	कृष्ण	शूद्र	लोमभिः केशवालैश्च त्वचा कृष्णः खुरैरपि । काल इत्युच्यते वाजी शूद्रः शौर्याधिकस्तथा ॥८५॥
४	कपाह (v. l. कयाह) (हे–७)	रोहित	क्षत्र-जाति	केशप्रभृति वालान्तः सर्वाङ्गे रोहितो यदि । कपाह इति विख्यात' क्षत्रजाति तुरङ्गमः ॥८६॥
५	सेराह (हे–६)	काञ्चनाभ	वैश्य	केशैस्तनुरुहैर्वालैः काञ्चनाभस्तुरङ्गमः । सेराह इति विख्यात वैश्यजातिसमुद्भवः ॥८७॥
६	चोर	सित + लोहित	...	सितलोहितरोमाणि सर्वाङ्गे मिश्रितानि च । मुखाग्रिवालकेशेषु लोहितश्चोर उच्यते ॥८८॥
७	नील (हे–८)	सित + कृष्ण	...	केशवालांघ्रितुण्डे च मेचको रुरुसन्निभः । नील इत्युच्यते वाजी सितकृष्णे तनूरुहे ॥८९॥
८	कया (पा) ह	कृष्ण etc.	...	पाटली पुष्पसका (शो) शानलकेषु सितेतरः । कृष्णग्रन्थिकया (पा) होऽश्वः संग्रामे विजयप्रदः ॥९०॥
९	मोह	मधूक वल्कल वर्ण	..	मधूकवल्कलच्छायो मोह इत्युच्यते हयः ।
१०	जम्व	पक्व जम्बू-फल वर्ण	..	पक्वजम्बूफलच्छायो जम्ब इत्यभिधीयते ॥९१॥
११	हरित (हे–५) (हे–१७)	पीत + लोहित	...	केशवालेषु पीतश्च लोहितो हरितो मत ।
१२	सत(ति)-रुन्दीर	उन्दुर वर्ण	...	उन्दुरेण समच्छायः सत(ति)रुन्दीर उच्यते ॥९२॥
१३	उराह (हे–११)	मेचक + पीत + लोहित	..	केशकेसरपुच्छे च जानुनोऽधश्च मेचकः । सर्वाङ्गलोहितैः पीतैरुराहः कथ्यते हयः ॥९३॥
१४	गण्ठि (मण्ठ) वर्ण	शोण etc	...	शेप(शोण)स्तेष्वेव देशेषु सर्वाङ्गे किञ्चिदुज्वलः । रक्तरेखाङ्कितः पृष्ठे गण्ठि(मण्ठ)वर्णस्तुरङ्गमः॥९४॥
१५	पन्च-कल्याण-	पाण्डुर	...	येन केनापि वर्णेन मुखे पुच्छे च (पादेषु) पाण्डुरः । पञ्चकल्याण नामाय भाषितः सोमभूभुजा ॥९५॥
१६	अष्टमण्ठा (ट्ग)ल	पाण्डुर	...	केशेषु वदने पुच्छे वशे पादे च पाण्डुर । अष्टममण्ठा(ट्ग)लनामा च सर्ववर्णेषु शस्यते ॥९६॥
१७	धौतपाद	श्वेत etc	...	श्वेत' सर्वेषु पादेषु पादयोर्वापि यो भवेत् । धौतपाद स विज्ञेय. प्रशस्तो मुखपुण्ड्रकः ॥९७॥
१८	हुलाह (हे–२०)	श्वेत etc	...	विशालैः पट्टकैः श्वेतै. स्थाने स्थाने विराजितः । येन केनापि वर्णेन हुलाह इति कथ्यते ॥९८॥
१९	वरन्ध	चित्रित	...	चित्रित. पार्श्वदेशे च श्वेतबिन्दुकदम्बकैः । यो वा को वा भवेद्वर्णस्तरङ्ग' कथ्यते हयः ॥९९॥

No. क्रम	Name नाम	Colour वर्ण	Caste जाति	Description विवरण
२०.	पिंगल(cf. हे १९).	सित + कृ० इ०	..	सितस्य विन्दुन कृष्णा स्थूला सूक्ष्माः समन्ततः । दृश्यन्ते वाजिनो यस्य पिङ्गल स निगद्यते ॥ १०० ॥
२१	वहुल or मलिन	श्वेत + श्यामल	..	श्वेतस्य सर्वगात्रेषु श्यामला मण्डला यदि । एके त वहुल प्राहुरपरे मलिन बुधाः ॥ १०१ ॥

On a comparison of the above list of *Someśvara* with that of *Hemacandra* we find that the following names of horses are common to both the lists —

(1) कर्क, (2) सेराह, (3) नील or नीलक, (4) उराह, (5) हलाह and possibly (6) पिङ्गल or पंगुल

This is not a mere coincidence. Though Someśvara was ruling in the Deccan and Hemacandra was living in Gujarat, there was constant mutual contact of both these provinces. Hemacandra's patron king Kumārapāla twice invaded Konkon and king Mallikārjuna of the Śilāhāra dynasty was killed in one of these invasions [1] It is just possible to suppose that some of the horse-lore of the Deccan must have migrated to Gujarat and vice versa as it was of great value to kings engaged in constant warfare.

Some of the names of horses recorded by Someśvara and Hemacandra in the 11th century are also found in a special treatise on horses called the *Aśvavaidyaka*[2] of Mahāsāmanta Jayadatta, son of Vijayadatta. In the list of drugs at the end of the edition, which the editor states, have been mentioned by Jayadatta, I find अहिफेन or opium (on p 3) If this statement is correct I have to observe that this treatise was composed after the Muslim advent in India as *opium* is not known to Indian literature prior to the Muslim advent [3] in the 8th century A. D Perhaps this treatise was

1 Vide मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश by S Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937, p. 240 — See verses 41—70 of प्राकृत द्व्याश्रयकाव्य (Canto VI) which describe Kumārapāla's march to Konkan

2 Ed by Umeśa Candra Gupta, *Bib. Indica*, Calcutta. 1886 — Verses 98—110 of *Chapter* 3 deal with kinds of horses according to colour (or वर्ण), pages 38—43.

3 The geographer *Al-Idrisi* visited Anahillapura, the capital of Jayasimha Siddharāja (A. D 1093—1143), the patron of हेमचन्द्र

(*Continued on the next page*)

omposed between *c.* A. D. 800 and 1200 A. D. The treatise on horses alled the अश्वचिकित्सित by नकुल edited in 1887 by the editor of Jayadatta's rork in the *Bibliotheca Indica* does not contain the names of horses recored by Hemacandra, Someśvara and Jayadatta. *Chapter 8* of Nakula's rork contains, however, a description of horses according to colours वर्ण) with different names but these names are Sanskrit and not "देशीप्रायाः" s those mentioned by Hemacandra. I record in detail in the following able the special names of horses according to their colours mentioned y Jayadatta in his अश्ववैद्यक :—

क्रम	नाम	वर्ण	विवरण
१	कोकाहः (हे-२)	श्वेत	श्वेतः कोकाहः इत्युक्त
२	खुङ्गाहः (v. l.- पिङ्गाह) (हे-३)	कृष्ण	कृष्णः खुङ्गाह उच्यते
३	हरित. (हे-५ और १७)	पीतक	पीतको हरितः प्रोक्तः
४	कयाय.	रक्तक	कषायो रक्तकः स्मृतः
५	कयाह (सो-८)	पक्वताल-निभ	पक्वतालनिभो वाजी कयाह. परिकीर्तितः
६	सेराहः (हे-४) (सो-५)	पीयूषवर्ण	पीयूषवर्णः सेराहः
७	सुरूहकः (हे-१२)	गर्दभाभ	गर्दभाभः सुरूहकः
८	नील. (हे-८) (सो-७)	नीलक	नीलो नीलक एवाश्वः

(*Continued from the previous page.*)

He states — "The city is frequented by a great number of *Musalman* merchants who resort to it in business. They are well received by the King." (Vide p. [illegible] of Intro. to काव्यानुशासन by R. C. Parikh, Bombay, 1938).

९	त्रियूहः (हे-९)	कपिल	त्रियूहः कपिल स्मृत.
१०	खिलाहः (v l– शिलह)	कपिल	खिलाहः कपिलो वाजी पाण्डुकेशरवालधि
११	हलाहः (हे–२०) (सो-१८)	चित्रल	हलाहः चित्रलश्चैव
१२	खङ्गाहः (v. l – श्वङ्गाह	श्वेतपीतक	खङ्गाहः श्वेतपीतकः
१३	कुलाहः (हे–१४)	ईषत्पीत	ईषत्पीतः कुलाहस्तु यो भवेत्कृष्णजानुकः
१४	उराहः (v. l.– उदहः) (हे–११) (सो-१३)	कृष्ण + पाण्डु इत्यादि	कृष्णा चास्ये भवेल्लेखा पृष्ठवशानुगामिनी । उराह. कृष्णजानुस्तु मनाक्पाण्डुस्तु यो भवेत् १०४
१५	वेरुहानः (v l – वीरहणः) (हे–१३)	पाटल	वेरुहानः स्मृतो वाजी पाटलो यः प्रकीर्त्तितः । रक्तपीतकषायोत्थवर्णजो यस्य दृश्यते ॥ १०५ ॥
१६	उकनाहः (v l.– दुकूलाहः हे–१५)	देहज वर्ण : with	उकनाह स विख्यातो वर्णो वाहस्य देहजः ।
१७	कोकुराहः	मुखपुड्रक	कोकाहः पुण्ड्रकेणाश्वः कोकुराह प्रकीर्त्तितः
१८	खराहः	..	खरराहश्च खङ्गाहो (पुण्ड्रकेण)
१९	हरिरोहक.	.	हरिको हरिरोहक (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२०	सुराह.	...	कुलाह. .. सुराह. (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२१	सुराहकः (cf सुरूहक' हे–१२)	..	वोटलाहः .. .. सरुराहकः (पुण्ड्रकेण) (हे–१०)
२२	वोरराद	..	वीरुराटः ... . वोरुराह (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२३	दुरूराह	.	दुकूलाहः .. दुरूराह (पुण्ड्रकेण)
२४	त्रियुराह.	चित्रलाङ्ग	त्रियूह त्रियुराहश्च चित्रलाङ्गश्च यो भवेत्

हे = हेमचन्द्र सो = सोमेश्वर

I have tried to tabulate the *horse-nomenclature* in Jayadatta's अश्ववैद्यक as best as I could understand it. This nomenclature is different from that given in the treatise on horses by शालिहोत्र which is frequently referred to by Jayadatta. In Jayadatta's time the old terminology had fallen into disuse and consequently Jayadatta has recorded the nomenclature that was current in his time, as such a record had a practical utility. In fact Jayadatta expresses this object of his nomenclature in the following verses —

" चक्रवाकादिभिर्वर्णैः शालिहोत्रादिभिः स्मृतैः ।
पाटलाद्यैश्च लोकस्य व्यवहारो न साम्प्रतम् ॥ १८ ॥
तस्मात्प्रसिद्धकान्वर्णान् वाजिनां देहसम्भवान् ।
समासेन यथायोग्यं कथयाम्यनुपूर्वशः ॥ १९ ॥ "

It will be seen from the three lists of the names of horses according to colours (वर्ण) tabulated by me in this paper that the lists of Jayadatta and Someśvara (A. D. 1130) are more exhaustive than that of Hemaçandra. These three lists together containing many common names give us a vivid idea of the horse lore current say in the 11th and 12th centuries. This horse lore is definitely connected with the foreign horse trade with India that was going on in Indian ports after about 800 A. D. as I have shown elsewhere.[1] Hemacandra says that this nomenclature is "देशीप्राय". I have reason to believe that some of these names are either Persian or Arabic and they may have come to India along with Persian, Arabic, Turkish and other foreign breeds of horses that were imported to India as vouched in detail by Marco Polo's Travels (A. D. 1298). Marco Polo's account of the foreign import of horses is further supported by the following account of the horse-trade at a Malabar port called *Kāyal* about A. D. 1290 recorded by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar [2] —

Kāyal was a well sheltered port at the mouth of Tamaraparani in the Gulf of Manar in the south, not far from the far-famed *Korkai* (*Kolkhoi* of the classical geographers). There was a prominent trade settlement at *Kāyal—about A D. 1290*, where an agency was established by an Arab Chieftain, Maliku l-Islam Jamalu-d-din ruler of Kis, and later the farmer-general of Fars. According to *Wassaf*, about this time as many as *10,000 horses* were imported into Kāyal and other ports of India of which *1100* were to be of *Jamalu d din's own breed*. The average cost of each horse

1 Vide *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona), Vol. XXVI, pp 103-105.
2 Vide pp 70-71 of *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, Oxford University Press, 1921.

was 220 *dinars* of 'red gold.' The cost even of those that died on the way was paid by the *Pāṇḍya* King for whom they were imported. *Jamalu-d-din's* agent was a brother as it seems, *Takiud d din Abdur-Rahman*, son of *Muhammadu-t-Thaibi* described as *Marzaban* (Margrave). This agent had his headquarters at *Kāyal*, and had the other ports of *Fitan* and *Mali Fitan* also under his control. This description means that he was the agent-general for the import trade of the Arabs in this part of the country, as according to the same authority the trade of this region in those days was very great, both in volume and value. In the words of *Wassaf* " Ma 'bar extends in length from Kulam to Nilawar (Nellore) nearly three hundred *parasangs* along the sea coast, and in the language of the country the king is called *Dewar*, which signifies the lord of empire The curiosities of *Chin* and *Machin*, and the products of *Hind* and *Sind* laden on large ships (which they call junks) sailing like mountains with the wings of winds on the surface of the water, always arrived there The wealth of the islands of the Persian Gulf in particular and in part the beauty and adornments of other countries, from '*Irak* and *Khurasan* as far as *Rum* and *Europe* are derived from *Ma'bar*, which is so situated as to be the Key of Hind" (Elliot, iii. 32).

The above graphic description of foreign trade of India in general about A. D. 1290 and the horse-trade in particular will explain the genesis of the horse-names according to their colours recorded by Hemacandra, Someśvara and Jayadatta. We note with special interest that out of 10,000 horses imported into Kāyal, 1400 were to be of *Jamalu d din's own breed.* In this connection I have to point out that the horse-name "वोरुखान" mentioned by Hemacandra may have been derived from some breeder of horses of the name वोरुखान. If this surmise is found to be correct, Hemacandra's explanation of this name "वैरिण खनति वोरुखानः" is pedantic and imaginary like his explanations of other horse names recorded by him. Hemacandra mentions the वोरुखान, horse as having पाटल colours. Jayadatta mentions "वेरुहान" or "वीरुहण" horse with पाटल colour. I think the terms "वोरुखान" and "वेरुहान" are identical. They may indicate some Arab breeder of horses of this name as I have observed above.

In the present paper I have succeeded to a certain extent in linking up the hourse-nomenclature as found in three different Sanskrit sources which are more or less contemporary [1] I have now to request all

1 Out of 20 names of horses in in Hemacandra's list about 15 are found in Jayadatta's list. This agreement leads us to infer that Hemacandra and Jayadatta are not much removed from each other in their chronology, especially when we remember that Hemacandra has recorded

(Continued on the next page)

scholars interested in this nomenclature to throw more light on it from non Sanskrit sources, which are likely to contain some special treatises on horses like *Xenophon's* Greek treatise and the Sanskrit treatises of *Śālihotra*, *Jayadatta*, and *Nakula*.

(Continued from [illegible])
these names as current in his time Secondly Jayadatta expressly states that he has recorded the current names as the old terminology used by शालिहोत्र and others had fallen into disuse

21. A Rare Manuscript of Rāmacandracandrodaya, an Unknown Mīmāṁsā Work by Bāla Gāḍegila (Between A.D. 1675 and 1775)*

In the Rajapur Pāṭhaśālā Sanskrit Manuscripts Collection there is a small collection of Mss called the Shevade[1] Collection acquired in 1931. Through the favour of my ever alert friend Pandit Raghunatha Śāstri Patankar in charge of the above collection I could get for examination a rare Ms of a *Mīmāṁsā* work called the *Rāmacandra-Candrodaya* composed by one "बाळ गाडेगिळ" or Bālaśāstri Gāḍgil. The Ms consists of about 77 folios[2] on thin and worn-out country paper. The size of the Ms is 9¾ ins. by 4 ins. Each folio contains about 11 lines, each line containing about 33 letters. The Ms appears to be about 150 years old It begins as follows —

"श्रीगणेशाय नम ॥
श्रीरामार्पितसर्वस्वः श्रीरामाघ्रिप्रसादतः ।
मीमासाभाट्टगुप्तार्थान्विवृणोमि यथामति ॥ १ ॥
धातुतङकृत्कारकार्थः खंडदेवैर्निरूपितः ।
गाडेगिलेन बालेनावशिष्टार्थो निरूप्यते ॥ २ ॥
धर्मो द्वादशलक्षिण्यामुक्तो जैमिनिना स्फुट ।
अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासेत्यादिना विवृणोमि त ॥ ३ ॥
श्रीतर्कांघ्रि समुत्सृज्य खडदेवैस्तु कौस्तुभः ।
बलाबलाधिकरणपर्यंत प्रकटीकृतः ॥ ४ ॥
मीमासाब्धे खडदेवैर्यावान् कौस्तुभ उद्धृत ।
ततोऽवशिष्ट श्रीबाल उद्धर्तुं यततेऽधुना ॥ ५ ॥
श्रीरामाभ्यावपर्णाय मीमासाद्याघ्रिकौस्तुभा ।
मीमासाब्धेरुद्धरति बालो गाडेगिलोऽधुना ॥ ६ ॥
विनयो गुरुसप्रदायसिद्धो
गुरुपुण्यैरखिलैरवाप्यते ।

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* *Journal of G Jha Research Institute, Vol IV pp 105-111.*

1 The Mss in the Shevade Collection bear the following printed label —

"विसारंगोठणेग्रामनिवासिभिः शेवडोपाह्वैः श्रीगोविंदशास्त्रितनुजैः शिवरामशर्मभिर्त्रंप्रभूतस्य स्थापित. स्मरणार्थं पितृसगृहीतोऽय ग्रन्थ. परमप्रीत्या समर्पित. शके १८५३ मार्गशीर्षमासे"

2 All the folios are damaged at one corner by moths, some portions of the text on each folio have thus been lost.

सुकुमार कुमारिलीय वा
रचनेनैव मया स दर्श्यते ॥ ७॥
तद्विद्वांसानुगृह्णन्तु चित्तश्रोत्रैः प्रसादिभि. ।
सतः प्रणयवाक्यानि गृह्णति ह्यनसूयवः ॥ ८ ॥
न चांद्रातीन कर्तव्य दोषदृष्टिपरं मनः ।
दोषोह्यविद्यमानोपि तच्चित्तानां प्रकाशते ॥ ९ ॥
कुतो वा गृह्यते दोषं सूरयो मद्विधोक्तिषु ।
नेष्यते य. परस्यापि स स्वय गृह्यते कथं ॥ १० ॥
निर्दोषत्वैकवाक्यत्वं क्व वा लोकस्य दृश्यते ।
सापवादायत केचिन्मोक्षस्वर्गावपि प्रति ॥ ११ ॥
आगमप्रवणश्चाहं नापवाद्यः स्खलन्नपि ।
न हि सद्वर्त्मना गछन् स्खलितेष्वपोद्यते ॥ १२ ॥
यथा कथचिदारब्धा त्रयीमार्गानुसारिणी ।
वाग्वृत्तिरल्पसारापि श्रद्दधानस्य शोभते ॥ १३ ॥
मीमासाशास्त्रतेजोभिर्विशेषेणोज्वलीकृते ।
वेदार्थज्ञानरत्ने मे तृष्णातीव विजृंभते ॥ १४ ॥
गाडेगिलेन बालेन लिखितं पण्डितोत्तमैः ।
शोधनीय विचार्यैव भूयं च सुविचारतः ॥ १५ ॥

अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा अथ वेदाध्ययनानंतरं etc.,

The Ms contains references to a few works and authors as follows .— (1) खण्डदेव and his कौस्तुभ—fol. 1 , (2) जैमिनी—fol. 1. 2 ; (3) कुमारिलीय fol. 1 , (4) बाल गाडेगिल (author) fol 2 ; (5) कापिलानाम् fol 2 ; (6) भाष्यवार्त्तिक fol 8, 11 , 13, 71 , (7) भाष्यकार—fol. 9 (8) भगवान् सूत्रकार. -- fol. 10 ; (9) शास्त्रदीपिकायाम्— fol 10 , (10) न्यायसुधाकार --folio 11, (11) पार्थसारथिना folio 12, 31, 40, 55 , (12) वार्तिककृद्भ्य — folio 12, 23, 25, 52, 55, 60, 75, (13) विष्णुपुराणे--folio 13, (14) योगिमाहेश्वरादीना मत--folio 18, (15) महाभाष्योक्ते —folio 24 , (16) बौद्धै —folio 27 ("वीर्चीतरगादिन्यायः"), 29 ; (17) नैयायिकानाम्-- folio 28, 37, 40, 56 , (18) तार्किका —folio 35, 43 , (19) भवदेवीया.—folio 40 , folio 41—Colophon --"इतिश्रीमत्परम . श्रीरामचद्र .... शिष्येण .. विरचिते ... ग्रन्थश्च ... सपूर्णः ॥ अथानुमान निरूप्यते" (the name "तर्ककौस्तुभ" is written in the margin near the Colophon), (20) वार्तिके--folio 41, (21) भाष्ये—folio 42; (22) तर्कभाष्ये—folio 45 ; (23) न्यायरत्नमालायाम्—folio 47; (24) वैदे पिका --folio 43, *Folio* 54-- "अथोपमानं निरूप्यते । उपमितिकरणमुपमानं"; *Folio* 60— 'अथार्थापत्ति निरूप्यते ।"; *Folio* 70--" इत्यार्थापत्ति ॥ अथानुपलब्धिनिरूप्यते ॥"; (25) भगवान् पतञ्जलि.—folio 73, Folio 77 (a) " इति श्रीमद्रामचन्द्रचंद्रोदयेऽनुपलब्धिनिरूपणं सपूर्ण. ॥" —

Folio 77 (b)— " अथ शब्दो निरूप्यते ". The Ms breaks on this folio and ends with the words " ... वृक्षोमद्दी ..."

From the foregoing data gathered from this Ms we get the following information — (1) The author of this *mīmāṃsā* work is " बाल गाडेगिल " (See verses 2, 6, 15). (2) The name of the work is " रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय " as stated in the colophon on folio 77 (a) The name " तर्ककौस्तुभ " has been recorded in the margin near the colophon on folio 41 (3) The author may have been a pupil of " श्रीरामचंद्रसरस्वतीपूज्यपाद " as stated in the colophon on folio 41 and as appears from the name of the work viz. " रामचंद्रचद्रोदय " recorded in the colophon on folio 77 (a). Some later hand has scratched out the expression " सरस्वतीपूज्यपाद " from the colophon on folio 41 viz. "श्रीरामचद्रसरस्वतीपूज्यपादशिष्येण etc." (4) The present work "रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय" was composed by बाल गाडेगिल with a view to supplementing the work of खण्डदेव viz कौस्तुभ or मीमांसा-कौस्तुभ (*verse* 2 "अवशिष्टार्थो निरूप्यते" and *verse* 5 " अवशिष्ट उद्धर्तुं यतते "). Perhaps this statement is responsible for the title " तर्ककौस्तुभ " entered by a later hand on folio 41. (5) *Verse* 1 at the beginning uses the expressions, " श्रीरामार्पितसर्वस्व. " and " श्रीरामांघ्रिप्रसादतः " which may suggest that the author was a devotee of God श्रीराम and a pupil of a *guru* of the name श्रीराम. The title " रामचंद्रचंद्रोदय " is in harmony with this suggestion

As the present work mentions the great *mīmāṃsaka* of Benares, viz., *Khaṇḍadeva* and his work " *Kaustubha,* " it is later than him. In my paper on the " Chronology of the works of Khaṇḍadeva " in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume,* I have recorded the following dates of Khaṇḍadeva and his works —

A. D. 1641—Date of a Ms of his भाट्टदीपिका.

A. D. 1657—Signature of Khaṇḍadeva on a निर्णयपत्र, drawn up at मुक्तिमडप at Benares.

A. D. 1660—Date of a Ms of his मीमासाकौस्तुभ at the B. O. R. Institute.

A. D. 1664—Date of India Office Ms of भाट्टदीपिका.

A. D. 1665—Date of Khaṇḍadeva's death recorded by his pupil शम्भुभट्ट in *A. D.* 1708.

In view of the above chronology we may safely conclude that *Bāla-Gāḍegila,* the author of the *Rāmacandra-Candrodaya* is *later than A. D.* 1665 and is possibly *earlier than A. D.* 1800 in view of the age of the

ijapur Ms of the *Rāmacandra candrodaya* as observed by me already in is paper. Accordingly we may tentatively put *Bāla Gāḍegila between say D.* 1675 and 1800.

The surname "Gaḍegila is current among the Chitpāvan Brahmins Mahārāṣṭra at present. As Bāla Gāḍegila does not record his parentage other particulars about himself or his family it is difficult to identify m. However, let me attempt his identification on the strength of Mara-a records of the period, A. D. 1700 to 1800

The Gujarati poet Deva Śaṃkara in his *Alaṃkāramañjūṣā* (edited by L. Katre, Ujjain, 1940) refers to an eminent Paṇḍita of the name "बाल-ष्णशास्त्रि", (highly honoured by Peshwa Madhav Rao I) in the following erse —

"क्षय न दोषो न गुरुर्न मिश्रो
न चाक्षिपाचापि सुरेशवन्य. ।
सुपूजितो माधवरायराज्ञा
श्रीबालकृष्णाभिधशास्त्रि एषः । "

For identifying the *Bālakṛṣṇaśāstri* of the above stanza myself and r. Katre searched in contemporary records. The result of this search is corded by Mr. Katre in *Appendix* B (pp. 289–297) of his edition of the *laṃkāramañjūṣā* The name–sakes of *Bālakṛṣṇa Śāstri* found in contem-orary records are as follows —

(1) *Bālakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita Pāṭaṇkar*, holding great influence with the eshwas.

(2) A list dated 10–8–1773 (*Peshwa Daftar* Vol 32, Pages 107–112, ocument No. 192) mentions charities given away by Ramābāī, wife of eshwa Mādhav Rao I, prior to her committing *Sati*. This list mentions ne बालकृष्णशास्त्रि to whose wife some jewels were given away by Ramābāī.

(3) Peshwa Daftar Vol. 13, Page 33–Document No. 38 dated 3–4–772 addressed to Peshwa Madhava Rao I, is a letter by one Kuppā Śāstri f Kumbhakoṇa, in which he binds himself not to carry on medical ractice in future.

This document is endorsed by witnesses among which we find the ignature of one *Bālakṛṣṇa Śāstri Jānārdan Śāstri Gāḍegila*" as follows.—

"साक्षी—

बालकृष्णशास्त्री जनार्दनशास्त्री गाडेगिल नृसिंहशास्त्री काशीनाथशास्त्री द्विवेकर" etc,

(4) *P. D. Vol.* 32, *Document No.* 191 dated 3–6–1773 is a list of harities given away at the *Sati* of Ramābāī to persons of Peshwa's royal ircle. This document shows a recipient "लक्ष्मीबाई गाडगीळ" receiving

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Rs. 2000. Mr. Kātre suggests by way of a guess that this *Lakṣumībai Gāḍagila* may have been the wife of बालकृष्णशास्त्री गाडेगिल referred to above.

(5) Grant Duff in his *History of the Marathas* (4th Edn. 1878), Vol. I, Chap XXI, Page 623 mentions one "*Bāl* Kishen Gargeel" as head of the Poona Nyadeesh, or Court of Justice,' associated with Bālāji II, who appointed him about A.D. 1749 as his first न्यायाधीश or Chief Justice. In 1759 Rāma Śāstri Prabhune succeeded this Bāla Kṛṣṇa Śāstri.

I am concerned in the above references with the name-sakes of "बाळ गाडेगिल", the author of the *Rāmacandra Candrodaya* (see Nos. 3 and 5 above). In particular the form of the surname "गाडेगिल" in the signature "बालकृष्णशास्त्री जनार्दनशास्त्री गाडेगिल" on a document of *3rd April* 1772 is exactly identical with that recorded by the author of the *Rāmacandra-Candrodaya*, who calls himself "बाळ गाडेगिल" in three different verses in the introductory portion of the work. If this identification is accepted we are led to conclude that the author of the *mīmāmsā* work before me in the form of the Rajapur Ms was living in A. D. 1772, presumably as a highly respected old Paṇḍita at Poona. Whether this *Bālakṛṣṇa Śāstri Gāḍegila* is identical with "*Bāl Kishen Gargeel*," the *Nyāyādhīśa* of the Peshwa, say between A. D. 1749 and 1759 as stated by Mr. Katre, cannot be definitely determined at present.

It is difficult to say what other Sanksrit authors of the Gādgil family[1] flourished before A.D. 1800. I know only one such author viz, Vaidyanātha Gāḍagila, the author of a commentary on the *Tarka Samgraha* of Annaṃbhaṭṭa, called the *Tarkacandrikā* represented by Ms *No.* 736 *of* 1882-83 (folios 37) in the Government Mss Library at the B O R. Institute, Poona. This Ms was written in Śaka 1644 (=A.D. 1722) by one Jayarāma. The colophon of the Ms reads as follows —

"इति श्रीगाडगिलोपनामक रामकृष्णभट्टात्मजवैद्यनाथभट्टकृततर्कचंद्रिका स ॥ ६ ॥"

It is clear from this colophon that the author of this commentary is *Vaidyanātha Rāmacandra Gādgila*, who is evidently earlier than A. D. 1722, while *Bāla Gāḍegila*, the author of the *Mīmāmsā* work *Rāmacandra-*

1 I note some names of persons of the Gādgil family, which I noticed while studying the subject of the present paper —

(1) *Sammatipatra* of Benares Pandits dated 1865 A.D bears the signature "गाडगीलोपाव्ह सीतारामशर्मणः" (See p 31 of Appendices to R. B. Gunjikar's, सरस्वतीमंडल, Bombay, 1881).

(2) See पेशवाईचे सावलींत by N G Chapekar (1937), pp. 111 (वाईचे), केशवभट, 81, कोंडोजीनाजी, 228.—"केशवभट्ट" गाडगील सातारकर" (p. 84) is referred to in a document of A.D 1777 Other persons are of later date.

Candrodaya is later than A. D. 1700. In what way *Vaidyanātha* is connected with *Bāla* cannot be determined at present. I hope some members of the *Gāḍgil* family, who may be interested in the history of their family, will try to trace in their genealogies these two *Gaḍgila* authors, one of whom belongs to the 17*th century*, while the other belongs to the 18*th century*.

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22. A contemporary Sanskrit tribute to the musical talents of Tānasena, the greatest musican of Akbar's court, and its historical Perspective *

For any Indian National Biographical Dictionary, if such a work is undertaken by our National Government in future years, the reconstruction of the life–history of every celebrity of ancient and mediaeval India is absolutely essential. Such a life–history must be based, as far as possible, on contemporary sources During the last twenty–five years I have published papers on numerous Sanskrit authors and their works. In these papers I have taken care to record every bit of information about the life-history of these authors, based on documentary evidence I have also brought to light many authors and historical personalities, unkown to the historians of literature, culture and political history. Recently I published a paper [1] on Vidyādhara, the Bengali architect of Sevai Jaipur, who was a minister of Maharaja Sevai Jaising of Amber (A. D. 1699–1743) and recorded in it some contemporary tributes to this great Bengali from his contemporaries. It is necessary to record in a similar manner contemporary tributes to other celebrities in the domain of literature, music, art and allied subjects with a view to getting an authentic picture of their life–histories.

I propose in the present paper to record a contemporary tribute to TĀNSEN, the celebrated musician of Akbar's court, about whom we hear many stories, sometimes of a mythical character.

In the *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by S Chitrav Shastri (Poona, 1937, p. 424) I find the following information about Tānsen —

* *Journal of S V, Ori. Institute*, Tirupati, Vol VIII, Part I, pp 1–8

1 Vide pp 285–294 of *Dr C Kunhan Raja Volume*, Madras, 1946 Since the publication of this paper I have received the following additional information about Vidyādhara from my friend Mr. Bimalacharan Deb of Calcutta in his letter of 4–12–1946 – "You will be interested to know that about 42 years ago (to be precise in 1311 Bengal style, corresponding to 1904-05 A C.) an article on Vidhyādhara appeared in the *Vangīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā* of Calcutta. In this article a fair amount of information was given regarding him personally and his family and descendants and also the times in which he flourished In that article there is a half-tone reproduction of a painting, showing Vidyādhara and his eldest son Murlidhara. This painting, the writer says, was in the possession of Surajbux, a descendant of Vidyādhara The painting is "old style", but the writer does not say if it was contemporary or not." I have to thank Mr Deb very much for the above information, unknown to me. I have requested Mr. Deb to publish a summary of the Bengali article on Vidyādhara in some Oriental journal along with the picture of Vidyādhara and his eldest son.

"*TĀNSEN*—(c. A. D. 1560) He was a *Gauḍa* Brahmin by caste. His father's name was Makaranda Pāṇḍe. He was resident of Gwalior. His father made a vow to a Muslim saint Muhammad Ghosa for the birth of a son. Tānsen was born as a result of this vow. The previous name of Tānsen was TANNA-MITRA. He had an extra ordinary imitative faculty. He could imitate the sound of any animal perfectly. Once a saint of the name Haridāsa Bābā was staying in his garden. Having observed Tānsen's imitative faculty the saint requested Tānsen's father to give Tānsen in his charge with a view to making Tānsen an expert musician. The father agreed to this request and Tānsen learnt music from Haridāsa Bābā and then returned to Gwalior

Later the fame of Tānsen reached Emperor Akbar, who brought him to his court where he was included among the nine jewels of the court. Akbar honoured him very much.

He has composed many *dhrupadas* in different *rāgas*, some of which are his own inventions. In some of these *dhrupadas* he has incorporated the name of his royal patron, Akbar. He died at the age of 63 years. The *rāgas* invented by him are *Miyā Malhār*, *Miyā Todī*, *Miyā Sārang* etc.

Once Tānsen and Akbar together listened to the singing of Tānsen's *guru*. At this time Akbar questioned Tānsen. Why should there be so much difference between your singing and that of your *guru*? Tānsen replied that his guru Haridāsa Bābā sings according to his mood but he himself has to sing in obedience to Akbar's wishes."

In the above account of Tānsen's life and achievements the editor of the *Caritrakośa* has not recorded the source from which he has drawn the information about Tānsen; hence it is difficult to verify it.

In the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by T. W. Beale (revised by H. G. Keen, London, 1894) page 400, I find the following remarks on Tānsen:—

"TĀNSEN—A celebrated Hindi musician or Singer who flourished in the time of Akbar and was employed by him. *He was originally in the service of a Rāja named Rāmchand* and was sent to court at the special request of the Emperor. He died in the 34th year of that monarch's reign *A. D 1588*, A. H 996."

The musicians in India, both vocal and instrumental, ever since the Musalmān conquests, who have been highly esteemed and whose names

are handed down to posterity with much respect by different authors, are as follows —Gopāl, Amīr Khusro, the poet, Baijū, Bhāno, Pāndwā, Bakshū Lohang, Sultan Husain Sarqi of Jaunpur, Rāja Mān of Gwalior, founder of the *dhurpad*, in whose time also lived the four following — Chārju, Bhagwān, Dhondhī and Dalu Tansen, Subhān Khān, Sūrgayān Khān of Fathapūr, Chānd khān, and his brother Sūraj khān, TANTARANG KHAN, the son of Tānsein, Madan Rāe, Rāmdās and his son Sūrdās, a blind moral poet and musician, Bāz Bahādur, Mundia, Mian Pand, Mian Daud Mulla Is-haq, Shaikh Khizir, Shaikh Beichū, Hasan Khān Ṭeini, Sūrat Sein and his brother Lālā Deibī, Mirza Aquil, Mian Shori, Ghutāmī, Lal Khān[1] Nilam Prakāsh, and the *Bīn* players, Firoz khān and Naubat khān."

Beale's account of Tānsen is evidently based on non-Sanskrit sources. I record below a tribute to Tānsen and his musical talent from a contemporary Sanskrit Kāvya called the *Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya*, composed by its author Mādhava about *A. D. 1555* according to Dr. Hiranand Shastri Canto X of this Kāvya deals with the reign of Rāmacandra, the Baghela ruler of Rewa, who was a patron of Tānsen. This Rāmacandra is identical with Raj Ramchand mentioned as Tānsen's employer in Beale's article on Tānsen. This canto tells us that Rāmacandra was a great patron of music He lavished his munificence on Tānasena, the renowned musician of India, to whom, being pleased with his *dhrupadas* he gave countless wealth. Tānasena was music incarnate. His *dhrupadas* became very famous and are sung even now. The following verses of Canto X refer to Tānasena and his enchanting *dhrupadas* and *rāgas* which had made a name for him before A. D. 1555, when this Kāvya was composed —

Page 121 – 122

" गान्धर्वविद्यामयदेहभाजे यस्तानसेनाय कलाविदेऽदात् ।
राग प्रतीह प्रतिवानमेतत् प्रविध्रुपत्कोटिशशाङ्कटङ्काः ॥ २६ ॥
अष्टौ स यामान् नयति स्म तेन रागादिना तत्समुदीरितेन ।
वर्षादिकाल गमयन् महीन्द्र सोऽवागम तत्र (ऽवागमत्तत्र) निमेषमात्रम् ॥ २७ ॥
हाहाहुहु (हू) तुम्बुरुनारदाद्यै क्वचित् क्वचित् काचन भाति विद्या ।
स सर्वभाषाचतुर समस्तविद्याधरोऽसौ विधिना व्यधायि ॥ २८ ॥
भूतो भविष्यन्नपि वर्तमानो न तानसेने सदृशो (नसमो) धरण्याम् ।
तथा (ऽ) प्रसिद्धया त्रिदिवेऽपि मन्ये नैतादृश कोप्यनवद्यविद्य ॥ २९ ॥

1. Edited by K K Lele and Anant Shastri Upadhyaya with Text and Translation into English together with a critical analysis by Hiranand Shastri Published by the Rewa Darbar, 1938 — The rare MS of the *Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya* was written at Benares by a Kāyastha, Tulsīdāsa, son of Kṛṣṇadāsa in *A D 1591*

दुर्लङ्घ्यशैलोपरिसिन्धुमध्ये द्वीपान्तराले(ऽपि) बिले वने च ।
श्रीरामचारित्रसुधाभिषिक्ता यस्य ध्रुपज्जीवति सर्वकालम् ॥ ३० ॥
यत्रैव यत्रैव वचो विलासा यत्रैव (यत्रैव) जनाश्चरन्ति ।
यत्रैव यत्रैव वचांसि नूनं सा तानसेनोक्तिरुदेति तत्र ॥ ३१ ॥ "

The free translation of the above stanzas as given by the editors is follows :—

" 26. *Tānasena*, the celebrated singer of his court, was indeed music incarnate. Rāmacandra gave a crore of silver *ṭaṅkas* for every tune he sang.

27. He passed the whole day in listening to his songs and considered the succession of seasons as an instant in duration.

28. *Tānasena* was conversant with all languages and all the niceties of the art of singing and seemed to surpass the celestial songsters Hāha, Hūhū, Tumburu and Nārada.

29. *Tānasena* had no equal in the past and present times and probably none would equal him in the future and in the heavens also there is none so proficient.

30. Immortal are his strains, which pervade the universe and are steeped in the nectar of Rāmacandra's glories.

31. Wherever human speech shows its excellence *Tānasena's* songs are sung. "

From the above Sanskrit tribute to Tānasena of c. *A. D. 1555* we may now turn to *Ain i-Akbari*[1] of c. *1590 A. D*, in which we get the following information about this greatest musician of Akbar's court :—

Page 406 — "89 *Rājah Rāmchand Baghelah* ... ... Rāmchand was the patron of the renowned musician and singer *Tānsin*, regarding whom *vide* the List of Musicians at the end of this book. His fame had reached Akbar; and in the 7th year the emperor sent Jalāluddin Qūrchi (No. 213) to Bhath to induce *Tānsin* to come to Agra Rāmchand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favourite with his musical instruments and many presents to Agra, and the first time that *Tānsin* performed at the court the emperor made him a present of *two lakhs of*

1. Trans. by H Blochmann, Vol. I (*Bib. Indica*) Calcutta, 1873. *Pages 406, 475, 612, 613* n — Footnote 1 on *Page 612* by Blochmann reads — " Regarding *Tānsen*, or *Tānsin*, or *Tansin* vide p. 406. *Rāmchand* is said to have once given him one *crore of* [illegible] Ibrahim Sur vainly persuaded *Tansen* to come to Agrah. Abul Fazl mentions [illegible] *Tansen* [illegible] and the *Pala* [illegible] (H-S [illegible]) mentions [illegible] of the name *Lalas* "

Rupees. Tānsīn remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even now-a days everywhere repeated by the people of Hindūstān."

Page 475 – "213. *Jalāl khān Qūrchī* — Akbar was much attached to him. In the 5th year, he was sent to Rāmchand Bhagelah (No. 89) with the request to allow *Tānsīn* to go to court."

Page 612 – "*Imperial Musicians* ...... His Majesty pays much attention to music .... musicians at court, *Hindus, Irānis, Turānis, Kashmīris,* both men and women .... *Principal musicians.*

1. *Miyān Tānsen.* A singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years.
2. *Bābā Rāmdās* of Gwalior, a singer"

(names of 34 more musicians are recorded here)

Page 613 – footnote 3 :— "During Shah Jahān's reign we find JAGANATH who received from Shah Jahān the title *Kabrāi*; Dirang Khān and Lāl Khān who got the title *Gunsamundar* (ocean of excellence) Lāl khān was son-in-law to Bilās, son of Tānsen. Jaganāth and Dirang khān were both weighed in silver and received each 4500 Rupees"

The statement of Blochmann that *Rāmchand gave one crore of tankas to Tānsen as present* is corroborated by the *Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya* (X 26) which states :—

" गान्धर्वविद्यामयदेहभाजे यस्तानसेनाय कलाविदेऽदात् ।
रागं प्रतीहप्रतितानमेतत् प्रतिध्रुपत्कोटिशशाङ्कटङ्काः ॥ २६ ॥ "

Ramchand gave one crore of tankas for every *dhrupada* Tānsen sang.

Vincent Smith in his *Akbar the Great Mogul* (Oxford, 1917), p. 50, states that Bāz Bahadur, the king of Malwa, was an expert in music and song and "like *Tānsen*, was reputed to have received instruction from *Adalī* or Muhammad Shāh Ādil, the last of the Sūr kings (*Badāonī*, tr. Ranking, i. 557)"

The *Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya* (X. 13) refers to इंदिलि in the following stanza —

" स इंदिलिस्वं शरणागतोऽभूत् स्वयं सुरत्राणमहम्मदादि ॥ १३ ॥ "

Dr. Hiranand Shastri has identified सुरत्राणमहम्मद इंदिलि with *Sultān Muhammad Sūr Adali* (vide p 17 of his *Critical Analysis*), who gave instruction to Tānsen in music. It is interesting to note that this reference to (Tānsen's guru) इंदिलि or *Adali* occurs in the very canto in which we find the verses referring to Tānsen and his musical talents (X. 26–31)

Speaking of "*Tānsen and music*" Vincent Smith observes (pp. 61–[illegible] of *Akbar the Great Mogul*) :—

"Akbar, although engaged in so much troublesome businc in various departments, was not indifferent to the pleasures life He took special delight in music and song and seems to ha had a considerable knowledge of the technicalities of those ar About this time (*1562*) he required Rāja Rāmchand of *Bhath* Rewā to send to court *Tānsen* of Gwalior, who was universal recognized as the premier musician and singer of the age. *Tānsi* who *became a Musalmān subsequently* was received with mark favour and liberally paid He is credited by Abu-l Fazl wi having introduced 'great developments' into his art. Conservati Hindu musicians take a different view and accuse him of havi falsified the traditional *rāgas*, two of which, *Hindol* and *Me* have disappeared since his time. Such critics hold that the fluence of *Tānsen* was deleterious to the musical science India.[1] It would seem possible that he may have violated t ancient Hindu canons and sought to modernize his art by maki changes to suit Muslim taste Few people have a right to expre any positive opinion on the subject and the author of this book not included among those few."

On *p. 100* of his *Akbar*, Smith gives an account of the surrend of Kālanjar by Rājā *Rāmchand* of Riwa A D. 1569 and refers to tl Rājā as "*the chief who had surrendered Tānsen, the musician, to Akba demand.*" On *p 59*, Smith mentions the personal friends of Akbar, call the "nine jewels" (Blochmann, *Āin*, Vol 1, p 174, No 205, and t *nauratna* picture in the Victoria Memorial Collection, Calcutta. — T *nauratna* or "nine jewels" meant nine friends namely *Rāja Birbal, R Mānsingh, Rāja Todar Mall, Hakim Humām, Mullā Dūpiyāza, Fai Abu l Fazl, Mirza Abdu r rahim, Khān Khānan* and *Tānsen*)" On *pa 122–123* Smith makes the following remarks about *Tānsen* —

"All authorities and traditions are agreed that the b performer at Akbar's court was *Miyān Tānsen* whom Akbar the 7th year of the reign had required the Rājā of Riwā surrender. Abul Fazl declared that "a singer like him has i

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1. "A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan*, page 83 (Oxford, 1914) For t theory of the Hindu rāgas or "musical modes" see that work and [illegible] p. 3[illegible]. The subj remains extremely obscure. The concluding section of Āin 30, Book II of Āin, tr. Blochma vol. I, pp. 611-13 deals with the musicians of the imperial court See also Ch. XV, post."

been in India for the last thousand years." He was a close friend of Sūr Dās, and like many of his contemporaries, received much of his musical education at Gwalior, where Rājā Mān Singh Tomār (1486–1518) had founded a school of music. Tānsen became a Muhammadan, assumed or was given the title Mīrzā, and is buried in Muslim holy ground at Gwalior. Unfortunately, he permitted himself to be ensnared by the prevailing vice of Musalmans in that age. His talents included the composition of verse The date of his death does not seem to be recorded but he certainly continued to serve in the court of Jahāngīr (For Akbar's music and Tānsen see *ante* chap iii; *Āīn*, Vol. i, pp 51 (Āīn, 19 with plates) and 611, *A. N*, ii, 279; Grierson *Vernacular literature* No. 60 etc, *A. S R*, ii, 370, with description of Tānsen's tomb, A. H Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan*, Oxford, 1914, p 83. Jahāngir confirms Abul Fazl's opinion of Tānsen's skill (Jahāngīr R B, i, 413) *Tānsen* is labelled as *Mīrzā* in the *nauratna* drawing Rājā Mān Singh Tomar of Gwalior must not be confounded with his namesake, the Kachhwāha of Amber (Jaipur) A good full length portrait of Tānsen, on a small scale, is included in a well executed picture of Jahāngir's reign, depicting a court-group, which is in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society)

On p 484 Smith refers to the *Portraits of Akbar's friends* and contemporaries About Tānsen's portrait he writes —

> "The Sketches in Vol. lvii of the Johnson Collection, already mentioned, include some worthy of reproduction. The best is No. 44, a slightly *tinted sketch of Tānsen, the musician* A good full-length portrait on a small scale of the same personage is included in a picture of Jahangir's time, belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, and hung on the staircase."

The foregoing extracts from Vincent Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul* give valuable information about the life and achievements of Tānsen but they do not contain any information about the career of Tānsen at the court of Rāmachandra, the Baghela king of Rewa.

Some information about Tānsen has been recorded in the *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa* by S V. Ketkar I note some points from this information —

Vol. XV (1925) (त) ४२ तानसेन गवई a *Gauda Brāhmana* — tradition about his acquiring proficiency in music from a *Gandharva.* — Akbar's

favourite—His original connection with a Hindu Raja, Ramacandra.—Tradition about Akbar going as a bearer of musical instruments to hear the music of Tānsen's *guru* Haridāsa Svāmī —picture of Tansen, available (see ज्ञानकोश Vol. V, p. 181)— Death of Tānsen in A. D. 1568, thirty four years after Akbar's coronation—His name is so much respected among musicians that at the bare mention of his name they twist up their ears and bow to him—His tomb at Gwalior [ज्ञ. कोश, स. का. सूचि]

Vol. V (*1922*) pp. 183–184—तानसेन (in the article on the history of Indian Music)—Development of court in Akbar's reign.— *Tānsen* was one of the pupils of a Hindu Saint, *Haridāsa Svāmī* residing at Vrndāvan on the banks of Jumna. Tradition about Akbar's visit in disguise to *Haridāsa Svāmi*—Raja Mansingh of Gwalior, a great patron of music, supposed to be the originator of *dhrupad* music—Two classes of Tānsen's followers:—(1) रबाबियर and (2) बीनकार—Tānsen invented a musical instrument called रबाब—He also used वीणा or बीना—These two classes of Tānsen's followers are still found at Rampur.

I close these notes on Tansen with a request to my South Indian friends to record any references to this celebrated musician in datable South Indian sources, Sanskrit or non Sanskrit.

23. Vāstuśiromaṇi, a work on Architecture by Śaṃkara, the Guru of Śyāmasāha, son of Mānanarendra — After c. A. D. 1550 *

Aufrecht records the following MSS of a work on architecture called the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* :—

CC I, p. 568 — " वास्तुशिरोमणि archit Pheh. 9.

— by Maharaja Śyāmasāh Śaṃkara, N. P. 92 "

CC II, p. 224 — Do — Ulwar 1963

All the MSS mentioned by Aufrecht in the above entries are inaccessible to me.

In 1947 my friend Śrī P. A. Mankad of Sabarmati presented to the B. O. R Institute a Devanāgarī copy of a MS of the *Vāstuśiromaṇi*.[1] This copy was obtained in 1927 by Śrī Mankad from Pandit Bhavani Dutt, late Secretary to the Maharaja of Tehri (Garhwal) through Pandit Narahari of Badrinath. The original MS from which the present copy was made consisted of 83 folios, each folio containing about 10 lines on a page. The present copy consists of 153 pages, each page containing about 18 lines, and each line containing about 26 letters

The MS begins as follows —

" श्रीमङ्गलमूर्तये नम ॥
गण्डव्या...धरोलम्बमवानन्दकर वरम्
लम्बोदरमहं वन्दे सिन्दूरद्युतिसुन्दरम् ॥ १ ॥
केलीकदम्बे निहिताऽचलम्बो विद्याधरालम्बितरम्यवेणुः ।
सुविद्युदम्भोदनिभ प्रभुर्मे पीताम्बर श्यामतनुस्तनोतु ॥ २ ॥
पुष्पाणामिव वृष्टय. सरभस वृन्दारकै कल्पिता
वेतालैर्वंधुमङ्गलाय कुतुकादुत्क्षिप्तलाजा इव ।
नृत्योद्धूतशशाङ्कशेखरजटाजूटाचलप्रस्खल
गङ्गाम्भ कणिकाममाऽभिलषितं कुर्वन्तु विघ्नक्षतिम् ॥ ३ ॥
पर्य्युंद्यस्फुटप्रतापविजितक्ष्मापालकश्रीभव –

* *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Vol. XXXV, pp. 35-41.*

1 Śrī Mankad's endorsement on this MS reads as follows —

" वास्तुशिरोमणि compiled by गुरुशंकर at the behest of King श्यामशाह of Tehri State."

चूडामौलिमणिप्रभातिसुभगप्रोत्तुङ्गसिंहासनः ।
दानोद्यत्करकल्पवृक्षजनितास्तद्युघातकल्पद्रुम
श्रीमान् मानमरेन्द्रजो विजयते श्रीश्याममाहो नृपः ॥ ४ ॥
तद्विद्भिः परिशीलितानि बहुशास्त्रतन्त्राणि सद्युक्तिवतां
पूर्वेषां प्रविलोक्य सारमखिलं ज्ञात्वैव संक्षेपतः ।
शाहस्यास्य नृपाज्ञया बुधवरः श्रीमान् गुरुः शङ्करो
रम्यं वास्तुशिरोमणिं वितनुते विद्वज्जनप्रीतये ॥ ५ ॥
ग्रन्थ कोपि......दभावगहनो विस्तारदुःस्थेऽपरः
कश्चिन्मानविहीनवास्यनिलयो निष्कर्षहीन परः
संक्षिप्ता सरला प्रमाणसहिता निष्कर्षयुक्ता तु मे
हे धीराः परिगृह्यतां कृतिरियं सद्धर्मसञ्चारिणी ॥ ६ ॥
सन्तः कदाचिदिह चेदवधानहानि-
र्हास्यं विधेयमिह नैव तदा भवद्भिः ।
छिद्रेऽपि राजति मणौ वणिज प्रयत्नैः
कुर्वन्ति शुद्धतमयो गुणयोगमेव ॥ ७ ॥
गृहस्थस्य क्रियाः सर्वा न सिद्ध्यन्ति गृहं विना ।
यतस्तस्माद् गृहारम्भः कर्तव्यो गृहिभिः सदा ॥ ८ ॥"

The MS ends as follows on p. 123 —

"इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीश्यामशाहगुरुशंकरकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ गृहप्रवेशनं नामाऽष्टमं प्रकरणम् संपूर्णम् । सपूर्णोयं ग्रन्थः श्री संवत् १९२८ का चैत्र २६ गते लखीद पुस्तकम् माधवानन्देन श्रीधरानन्दशर्मणात्मलोकनार्थम् "

This copy was prepared by the scribe Mādhavānanda for the use of *Śrīdharānanda* in *Samvat 1928* (=A. D. 1872). *Vāstuśiromaṇi* is the work of *Śaṃkara*, the *guru* of King *Śyāmaśāha*. References to works and authors mentioned in the MS are as follows :—

(1) श्रीश्यामसाहो नृपः – p. 1.
(2) गुरुः शंकर – p. 1.
(3) केशवपद्धतौ – p. 2, 4, 9, 10, 13, 16, 31, 32, 36, 41, 42, 43.
(4) मत्स्यपुराणे – p. 2, 6, 7, 13, 14, 18 (मात्स्ये), 20, 31, 52, 58.
(5) नारदसंहितायाम् – p. 2, 6, 9, 17, 18, 23, 24, 74 (नारद), 134.
(6) नारदपाञ्चरात्रे – p. 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 76, 90 (पञ्चरात्रे)
(7) गर्गः – p. 3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 29, 32, 38, 135.
(8) शौनके – p. 4, 5, 15, 21, 35, 41, 43, 52, 126.
(9) केशववचनेन – p. 5.
(10) वराहमिहिरादीनाम् – p. 6, 8, 11, 12, 52, 53, 63, 67, 71, 82.

(11) वसिष्ठसंहितायाम्–p. 6, 17, 24, 41, 91.
(12) ज्योतिर्गर्गे p. 7.
(13) गौतमेन–p. 8
(14) पराशर –p. 9, 63.
(15) वशिष्ठः–p 10, 12, 15, 19 (वाशिष्ठे), 29, 30, 32, 42, 49, 52, 75.
(16) दीपिकायाम्–p. 10.
(17) विश्वकर्मणि-p 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 37, 80, 120, 138, 140
(18) चूडामणौ–p. 13
(19) सग्रहे–p 14, 16, 17, 18, 25, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, etc
Page 14 - "इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्यामसाहगुरुशङ्करकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ भूपरीक्षण प्रथमम्"
(20) रत्नकोषे–p 15, 17.
(21) हेमाद्रौ p 16, 23.
(22) राजमार्तण्डे–p. 18, 136
(23) महेश्वरः–p 19
(24) विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे–p 21.
(25) सर्वसमुच्चये–p 23, 27 (समुच्चये)
(26) यवनेश्वरे–p. 23
(27) श्रीपति –p. 28, 38, 41, 141, 153.
(28) त्रिविक्रमपद्धतौ–p 29, 49, 52, 58, 59, 74, 75
(29) अग्निपुराणे–p. 29.
(30) वसतराजः–p. 29
(31) जगन्मोहने–p. 30
(32) गारुडे–p 39.
(33) वास्तुतन्त्रे–p 42, 76
Page 48–" इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्यामसाह गुरुशंकरकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ कालादिनिरूपणं नाम द्वितीयं प्रकरण"
(34) भरतशास्त्रे–p 58.
(35) चिन्तामणौ–p 60
(36) वास्तुफलप्रदीपे-p 62, 76 (वास्तुप्रदीपे), 141
(37) वास्तुविद्यायाम्–p. 63.
Page 69–" इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ...... वास्तुनिरूपणं नाम तृतीयं प्रकरणम्"
(38) कूर्मयामले- p 70.
(39) वास्तुशास्त्रे–p 75, 87 (वास्तुशास्त्रकाराः)

(40) सूर्यसिद्धांते – p. 75.
(41) सिद्धान्तशिरोमणौ – p. 77.
(42) वार्षिकतन्त्रे – p. 77.
(43) व्यवहारतिलके – p. 77.
(44) राजवाजपेय्यान् – p 77, 90.
Page 78 – " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ... ...शल्यादिनिरूपण नाम चतुर्थ प्रकरणम् "
(45) ब्रह्मशंभुः – p 78
(46) शार्ङ्गधरः – p. 78.
(47) कश्यप. – p 86
(48) छन्दोगपरिशिष्टे – p. 90
(49) शारदातिलके – p. 90
(50) किरणाख्यतंत्रे – p. 99, 103, 116, 117.
(51) ज्योतिर्गर्गीये – p. 100, 111.
(52) हिरण्यगर्भ. – p. 103.
(53) तंत्रोत्तरे – p. 105.
Page 106 – " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ...... गृहारम्भस्तत्स्वरूपादि कथन नाम पंचम प्रकरणम् "
(54) नन्दी – p. 108.
(55) भरद्वाज – p. 121.
Page 124 – " इतिश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ..द्वारस्वरूप वेधकथनम् नाम षष्ठ प्रकरणम् "
(56) ज्योतिषरत्नशिरोमणौ – p. 152.
Page 146 – "इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ...... प्रकीर्ण नाम सप्तम प्रकरणम् "

The foregoing list of references gives us a good idea about the literature made use of by the author of the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* in the eight chapters (*prakaraṇas*) of his treatise on architecture I shall now consider the chronological value of some of these references for fixing the earlier terminus for the date of the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* as follows .—

No. 21 — हेमाद्रि – Possibly Hemādri's work on dharmaśāstra called the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* is referred to. Hemādri's date is about *A. D. 1260*.

No. 22 — राजमार्तण्ड – This appears to be a work on *jyotiṣa* by King Bhoja of Dhara (c. *A. D. 1050*)

No. 27 — श्रीपति – He is the author of some astronomical works. He flourished about *A. D. 1050*.

(11) वसिष्ठसंहितायाम्–p. 6, 17, 24, 41, 91.
(12) ज्योतिर्गर्गे p. 7.
(13) गौतमेन–p 8.
(14) पराशर –p. 9, 63.
(15) वशिष्ठः–p 10, 12, 15, 19 (वाशिष्ठे), 29, 30, 32, 42, 49, 52, 75
(16) दीपिकायाम्–p. 10.
(17) विश्वकर्मणि–p 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 37, 80, 120, 138, 140
(18) चूडामणौ–p. 13.
(19) सग्रहे–p. 14, 16, 17, 18, 25, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, etc
Page 14– "इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्यामसाहगुरुशङ्करकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ भूपरीक्षण प्रथमम्"
(20) रत्नकोषे–p 15, 17.
(21) हेमाद्रौ p 16, 23.
(22) राजमार्तण्डे–p 18, 136
(23) महेश्वरः–p 19
(24) विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे–p 21.
(25) सर्वसमुच्चये–p 23, 27 (समुच्चये).
(26) यवनेश्वरे–p 23
(27) श्रीपति –p. 28, 38, 41, 141, 153.
(28) त्रिविक्रमपद्धतौ–p 29, 49, 52, 58, 59, 74, 75
(29) अग्निपुराणे–p. 29
(30) वसतराजः–p. 29.
(31) जगन्मोहने–p 30
(32) गारुडे–p 39.
(33) वास्तुतन्त्रे–p 42, 76
Page 48– "इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्यामसाह गुरुशंकरकृतौ वास्तुशिरोमणौ कालादिनिरूपणं नाम द्वितीयं प्रकरण"
(34) भरतशास्त्रे–p 58.
(35) चिन्तामणौ–p 60
(36) वास्तुफलप्रदीपे–p 62, 76 (वास्तुप्रदीपे), 141
(37) वास्तुविद्यायाम्–p. 63.
Page 69– "इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ...... वास्तुनिरूपणं नाम तृतीयं प्रकरणम्"
(38) कूर्मयामले–p 70.
(39) वास्तुशास्त्रे–p 75, 87 (वास्तुशास्त्रकाराः),

(40) सूर्यसिद्धान्ते – p. 75.

(41) सिद्धान्तशिरोमणौ – p. 77.

(42) वार्षिकतन्त्रे – p. 77.

(43) व्यवहारतिलके – p. 77.

(44) रामवाजपेय्यात् – p 77, 90.

Page 78 – " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ... ... शल्यादिनिरूपणं नाम चतुर्थं प्रकरणम् "

(45) मयशम्भुः – p 78

(46) शार्ङ्गधरः – p. 78.

(47) कश्यपः – p. 86

(48) छन्दोगपरिशिष्टे – p 90.

(49) शारदातिलके – p. 90

(50) किरणाख्यतन्त्रे – p. 99, 103, 116, 117.

(51) ज्योतिर्गर्गीये – p. 100, 111.

(52) हिरण्यगर्भः – p 103.

(53) तन्त्रोत्तरे – p. 105.

Page 106 – " इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ...... गृहारम्भस्तत्स्वरूपादि कथन नाम पचम प्रकरणम् "

(54) नन्दी – p. 108.

(55) भरद्वाज. – p. 121.

Page 124 – " इतिश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ..द्वारस्वरूप तद्वेधकथनम् नाम षष्ठ प्रकरणम् "

(56) ज्योतिषतन्त्रशिरोमणौ – p 152.

Page 116 – "इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज ...... प्रकीर्णं नाम सप्तम प्रकरणम् "

The foregoing list of references gives us a good idea about the literature made use of by the author of the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* in the eight chapters (*prakaraṇas*) of his treatise on architecture I shall now consider the chronological value of some of these references for fixing the earlier terminus for the date of the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* as follows —

No. 21 — हेमाद्रि – Possibly Hemādri's work on dharmaśāstra called the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* is referred to. Hemādri's date is about *A. D 1260*.

No. 22 — राजमार्तण्ड – This appears to be a work on *jyotiṣ* by King Bhoja of Dhara (c. *A. D. 1050*).

No. 27 — श्रीपति – He is the author of some astronomical works. He flourished about *A. D. 1050*.

Na. 3 — केशवपद्धति – This work is quoted freely in the *Vāstuśiromaṇi*. It is a work on *jyotiṣ* by Keśava, also known as केशवी or जातकपद्धति. This author flourished *about A. D. 1496* (see p. 258 of *History of Indian Astronomy* by S. B. Dīksita, Poona, 1896).

No. 41 — सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि – This is the celebrated work on astronomy by Bhāskarācārya composed in *Śaka 1072 = A. D 1150* (see p. 246 of *Hist of Ind Astronomy* by S B Dīkṣita)

No. 42 — वार्षिकतन्त्र – This is the work on *jyotiṣ* by Viddana, son of Mallaya It is not much earlier than Śaka 1400 (A D. 1478) See *Hist of Ind Astronomy* by S. B. D. – p. 292).

No 44 — राम वाजपेयी – One of his works is dated *Śaka 1371 = A. D. 1449* (see p. 476, foot-note, of *Hist of Ind Astro.* by S B D).

No. 49 — शारदातिलक – This *tantra* by Laksmana Deśika belongs to the *11th cent. A D* (see p. 276 of J N. Farquhar's *Outline of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920)

No 43 — व्यवहारतिलक – This work on judicial procedure has not yet come to light Its author Bhavadevabhatta lived *about A. D. 1100* (see p 305 of P V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol I, B O. R Institute, Poona, 1930).

The references to *Keśavapaddhati* (about A. D 1496) and *Rāmavājapeyi* (A. D. 1449) in the above list of datable references enable us to conclude that the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* is definitely *later than c A D. 1550.* The exact date of the work can be fixed if we are able to identify King *Śyāmasāha*, son of King *Māna*, by whose order *Guru Śaṃkara* composed the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* as stated by him in verses 4 and 5 at the beginning of the work.

In the *Gazetteer of United Provinces*, (Vol II, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 280–281) we find some history of Garhwāl Dist. No genealogy of the Garhwāl Chiefs is recorded in this history The names of some Chiefs recorded in this connection are as follows —

Mahīpat Shāh — (17th century) founded Śrīnagar. He was the first in his line to establish independence.

Pirthī Shāh — In 1654 A D Shah Jahan sent an expedition against this Raja. He was driven from Śrīnagar by *Jagat Chand* (A D 1708–1720)

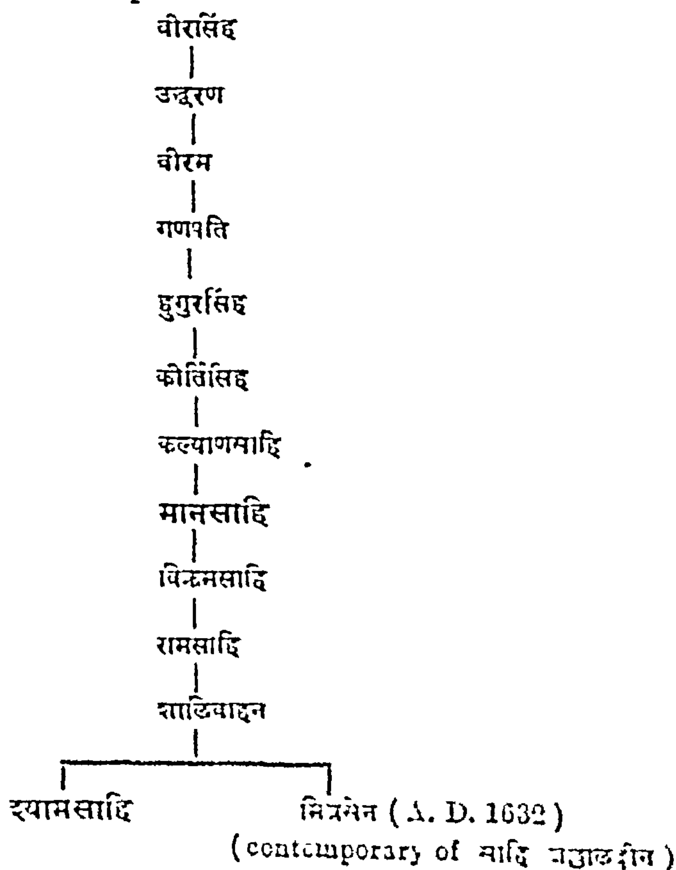
Pradīp Shāh — He ruled from A. D. 1717–1772

Lalat Shāh — A. D. 1779.

Parduman Shāh-son of Lalat Shāh, perished with his troops in A. D. 1804 fighting against the Gurkhas.

The names *Śyāmasāha* and his predecessor *Māna-narendra* mentioned in the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* are not found among the names of the Garhwal rulers mentioned above. Without a complete genealogy of the Garhwal line of Kings I am unable to identify *Syāmasāha* and *Māna-narendra.*

In the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* by D. R. Bhandarkar (Vols. XIV to XXIII of *Epi. Indica*) we find Inscription No. 988 (p. 133 of the List), which is dated *Vikrama Saṃvat 1688 = A. D. 1632.* This inscription is of the time of the Tomara *Mitrasena* found at Rohtas (Jhelum Dist. Panjab). The genealogy of the Tomara family of Gopācala (Gwalior) as given in the inscription is as follows .—



Curiously enough the names श्यामसाह and मानसाह (= मान नरेन्द्र) mentioned in the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* are found in the above genealogy. If these names

are identical with the names श्यामसाहि and मानसाहि in the Gwalior line of Kings the date of श्यामसाह would be A. D. 1632. In the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* श्यामसाह is called " माननरेन्द्रज " born of मान King. Normally the epithet would mean " son of king मान " but if we take it to mean " born in the line of king मान " we can reconcile the genealogy of the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* with the statement of the inscription of *A. D. 1632*.

The above hyphothesis about the possible identification of श्यामसाह and माननरेन्द्र needs more evidence in support of it before we accept it as final. Chronologically there would be no difficulty as the *Vāstuśiromaṇi* has been shown by me to be later than c A. D. 1550. I hope students of the history of Garhwal State would throw some light on the names श्याम-साह and माननरेन्द्र mentioned in the *Vāstuśiromaṇī*.

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24. The Contact of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and some Members of his Family with the Keḷadi Rulers of Ikkeri — Between c A D. 1592 and 1645 *

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, [1] the great grammarian of Banaras, lived between c. A. D. 1550 and 1630. He had a circle of pupils, some of whom composed works on grammar and other subjects. I have published papers on the works of some of these pupils like Varadarāja, [2] Vanamālī, [3] Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla. [4] His influence on subsequent authors [5] is also very great. The family of Bhaṭṭoji was a learned one and appears to have enjoyed some patronage of the Keḷadi rulers of Ikkeri in the Shimoga District of the present Mysore State I propose in this paper to record some evidence of the contact of Bhaṭṭoji and other members of his family with the Keḷadi rulers of Ikkeri between c. A. D. 1592 and 1645.

Dr. E. Hultzsch in his Report II on Sanskrit MSS in South India (Madras, 1896) describes a MS of the *Tattvakaustubha* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita as follows .—

Page XII — "The *Tattvakaustubha* (No. 1243) was written by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita at the order of Venkaṭendra of Keladi. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 177, Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Keladi reigned A. D. 1601 to 1626."

Page 122 of Appendix—MS No. 1243 begins as follows —

" विश्वेश सच्चिदानन्दं वन्देऽहं योऽखिलं जगत् ।
चरीकर्ति बरीभर्ति सञ्जरीहर्ति लीलया ॥
केलदिवेङ्कटेन्द्रस्य निदेशाद्विदुषां मुदे ।
ध्वान्तोच्छित्तौ पटुतरस्तन्यते तत्त्वकौस्तुभः ॥
फणिभाषितभाष्याब्धे शब्दकौस्तुभ उद्धृत. ।
शाङ्करादपि भाष्याब्धे. [तत्त्व] कौस्तुभमुद्धरे ॥ "

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* *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. IV, No 1, Sept. 1955* pp. 33-36.

1. About the date of Bhattoji see my paper in my "*Studies in Indian Literary History*," Vol I, 1953, pp. 65-74. About Bhaṭṭoji's *Vedānta guru* see *Ibid* pp. 75-79.

2. *Ibid* pp. 316-3[illegible]

3. See *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. X, Part 4, pp. 231-235, Dec. 1946.

4. See my *Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 465-475.

5. See my paper on the date of Kaundabhatta in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* and on the *Literary Chronology of the Works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa* in *Oriental Thought* (Nasik), Vol. I, No. 1.

Dr. B. A. Saletore in his remarks on the age of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the *Karnatak Historical Review*, Jan.-July 1937, identifies king " Venkaṭendra ", by whose order Bhaṭṭoji composed the *Tattvakaustubha*, with Veṅkaṭapa Nāyak I, who ruled from A. D. 1582 till A. D. 1629, and states that this King was noted for the patronage he gave to learned men. [1]

There is an incomplete MS of the *Tattvakaustubha* in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona (No. 319 of 1899–1915). At the end of the third Pariccheda of this work (folio 6) we find the following colophon —

" केलदी वेङ्कटेन्द्रोऽसौ अघोरेश[2] परायण ।
अचीकरदिम ग्रन्थ तत्त्वकौस्तुभसज्ञितम् ॥
पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञान् गुणगृह्यान् विपश्चितः ।
कौतुकांतमनस [कौतुकान्तर्मनस] प्रमोदयतु मत्कृति. ॥
इति श्रीमद्विशुद्धाद्वैतप्रतिष्ठापकेत्यादिविरुदावलीविराजमाने केळदिवेङ्कटाभूपेन कारिते विद्वन्मुकुटमाणिक्यलक्ष्मीधरभट्टसूनुभट्टोजिभट्टविरचिते तत्त्वकौस्तुभे तृतीय· परिच्छेदः ॥ "

From the extracts from the *Tattvakaustubha* quoted above it is clear that Bhaṭṭoji had some contact with the court of King Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka I, who ruled at Ikkeri and belonged to the Keladi line of rulers. The regnal period of this ruler is given differently by different scholars as follows :—

1. Hultzsch — " A. D. 1604 to 1624. "
2. B. A. Saletore — " From A. D. 1582 till A. D. 1629. "

In the pedigree of the Keḷadi rulers given in the *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume*, 1936, p. 269, the regnal period of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyak I is given as " A. D. 1592-1629. " If this period is correct we can infer that the contact of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with this Keḷadi King must have taken place sometime between A. D. 1592 and 1629.

Bhaṭṭoji's brother Raṅgojibhaṭṭa was also a very learned man. He also appears to have enjoyed some patronage of the Keḷadi ruler Veṅka-

1. There is a MS of the *Tattvakaustubha* in the Govt Ori. MSS Library, Madras (No 4588 described on p. 3417 of Vol IX of the *Descriptive Catalogue*, Madras, 1910) The three verses quoted by me from the MS of this work described by Hultzsch are also found in this MS. The reading in the first line of verse 2 in this MS is " केरळीवेङ्कटेन्द्रस्य " which is evidently a wrong reading for the correct-reading " केलदीवेङ्कटेन्द्रस्य "

2. The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle who visited the Court of Venkatappa Nāyak I of Ikkeri in A. D 1623 refers to अघोरेश्वर as follows on p 272 of his *Travels*, Vol. II (1892) — " *Venk-tapā Naieke* had a great and particular devotion to the idol Agoresuar, who is here worshipped. "

ṭappa Nāyaka I (A. D. 1592–1629) who was a great patron of learning. He had a son named Bhadrappa, who died during the life time of his father, leaving a son named Vīrabhadra. This prince assisted his grandfather Veṅkaṭappa in the administration of the province and in course of time succeeded him. Vīraśaivism appears to have been the faith of the Keladi Nāyakas. They were great devotees of the Advaita Maṭh of Śṛṅgeri. Venkatappa Nāyaka I wrote a commentary in Sanskrit on *Śivagītā*. He patronised some scholars, like Tirumalabhaṭṭa, Raṅganātha Dīkṣita, Aśvapaṇḍita, etc.[1] In view of this information recorded by Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao in his article on the *Nāyakas of Keladi* in the *Vijayanagara Comm. Volume* we must take the following verse in the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa* of Rangojibhaṭṭa's son Koṇḍabhaṭṭa as genuine .—

> " विद्याधीशवडेरयश्रयति श्रीमाध्वभट्टारकं
> जित्वा केलदिवेङ्कटप्पनृपतेःप्यान्दोलिका प्राप्तवान् ।
> यश्चक्रे मुनिवर्यसूत्रविवृति सिद्धान्तभङ्गं तथा
> माध्वानां तमहं गुरूपमगुरुं रङ्गोजिभट्टं भजे ॥ १ ॥ "

(See pp. 259 of *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa* in B. S. Series, 1915).

The first two lines in the above verse expressly state that Raṅgojibhaṭṭa, the brother of Bhaṭṭoji and father of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, defeated in debate at the court of King *Keḷadi Veṅkaṭayya* a Mādhva ascetic of the name " *vaḍeru* " and got the honour of riding in a palanquin from Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka I (A. D. 1595–1629).

From the evidence recorded so far it is clear that both the brothers *viz*. Bhaṭṭoji and Raṅgoji had an intimate contact with the court of the Keḷadi ruler Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka I, though they normally resided at Banaras and carried on their learned pursuits there. This Keḷadi ruler must have entertained great respect for these brothers, who were followers of the Advaita doctrine, which appears to have been followed by Veṅkaṭappa also in view of his being the devotee of the Advaita Maṭh of Śṛṅgeri like other rulers in the Keḷadi line of rulers. At any rate Koṇḍabhaṭṭa mentions with pride and satisfaction the honour bestowed on his father by Veṅkaṭappa for defeating a Mādhva ascetic of the Dvaita School of Vedānta.

The patronage to Bhaṭṭoji's family given by Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka I appears to have been continued by his grandson Vīrabhadra (A. D. 1629-1645), who succeeded him as will be seen from the following evidence:—

1. See pp. [illegible] of *Vijayanagara Comm. Volume*.

Kondabhaṭṭa, the nephew of Bhaṭṭoji composed a work called "Tarkapradīpa" by the order of King Vīrabhadra, son of Bhadrendra as stated by Kondabhatta in this work An incomplete MS of this work has been described by Hall in his *Bibliography* (1859), p. 79 In my article[1] on Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, I have tried to prove that this patron Vīrabhadra, son of Bhadrendra is identical with Vīrabhadra Nāyaka (A. D 1629–1645), the son of Bhadrappa Nāyaka, who died during the life-time of his father Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I. It appears, therefore, that Vīrabhadra enjoyed the patronage of this Keḷadi ruler in the same way as that enjoyed by his father Raṅgoji and his uncle Bhattoji at the Court of Vīrabhadra's grand-father Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I (A. D. 1595–1629)

The following table shows at a glance the contact of Bhaṭṭoji's family with the Keladi rulers of Ikkeri between A. D 1592 and 1645 —

Bhattoji Family	Keladi Royal Family	Regnal period
1 Bhaṭṭoji (c. A. D 1550-1650)	Venkaṭappa Nāyaka I	A. D. 1592-1629
| Brother		
2. Raṅgoji (— Do —)	— Do —	-- Do —
| Son	| Grandson	
3 Konda-bhaṭṭa (c. A. D. 1600 1660)	Vīrabhadra	A. D. 1629-1645

Raṅgoji was a devotee of god कालहस्तीश (Kālahastīśa). He refers to this god in the last portion of his *Śivollāsa* as follows —

" ग्रन्थे चास्मिन्तव विलसिते कालहस्तीश नित्य ।
कृत्वाभ्यासं भवति विजयी भक्तिभावैकनिष्ठ ॥ "

There is a railway station called *Kālāhasti*, in the Chitoor District of the Madras State about 15 miles to the North of the Renigunta junction. Nearby is the Kālāhasti Zamindari. There is a village of the name *Kālāhasti*, near which is the temple of god Mahādeva, with five faces. This god is the celebrated *Kālahastīśa* referred to by Raṅgoji. Rao Bhadur W. A. Bambardekar[2] thinks that the native place of Bhaṭṭoji's family must have been in the vicinity of the *Kālahastīśa*, which appears to be the family deity of the family of Bhattoji Dīkṣita.

In view of the South Indian origin of Bhattoji's family explained by my friend the late Rao Bhadur Bambardekar it is easy to understand the contact of this family with the Keladi rulers of Ikkeri in the Shimoga District of the Mysore State as explained in this paper.

1. See *Adyar Library Bulletin*, 1954.
2. See p. 300 of *Bhaṭṭoji-Dīkṣita-Jñātivivekа*, Bombay, 1939.

25. The Chronology of the Works of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa

(A Nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita)

Between A. D. 1610 and 1660 *

AUFRECHT records the following works of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, the son of Raṅgojibhaṭṭa and nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita
Catalogus Catalogorum, Part, I, p. 130.

(1) तर्कप्रदीप written at the instance of King Vīrabhadra, Hall, p. 79, Ben. 165.
(2) तर्करत्न Hall p. 78
(3) न्यायपदार्थदीपिका
(4) वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तभूषण
(5) वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तभूषणसार
(6) लघुवैयाकरणसिद्धान्तभूषणसार Oppert — 5397
(7) वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तदीपिका K. 88
(8) स्फोटवाद Peters. 1. 121

I am concerned in this paper mainly with the later limit for the date of the वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तभूषण or वैयाकरणभूषण of which the वैयाकरणभूषणसार is an abridgment by Koṇḍabhaṭṭa himself. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute MS of वै. भूषणसार, (No. 226 of 1882-83) is described by Dr. Belvalkar on p. 259 of his *Catalogue of Grammar MSS*, Vol. II, Part I, 1938. The age of this MS as recorded by him is " *Saṃvat* 1716 or 1766. " If we accept " *Saṃvat* 1716 = A. D. 1660, the later limit for the date of this work would be A. D. 1660. If we accept " *Saṃvat* 1766 " = A. D. 1710, the later limit would be A. D. 1710.

A Ms of वैयाकरणभूषण by Koṇḍabhaṭṭa No. 1610 in the Desai Collection of the Bombay University is described by Prof. H. D. Velankar on p. 270 of his *Catalogue* of this collection (1953). It is dated " *Saṃvat* 1762 " = A. D. 1706.

Eggeling describes a MS of the वैयाकरणभूषणसार in the India Office Library on p. 188 of his *Catalogue of I. O. MSS.*, Part II (1889) — MS No. 711. This MS is dated " *Saṃvat* 1706 " = A. D. 1650. If this date is correct we may fix A. D. 1650 as the later limit for the date of वैयाकरणभूषण and its abridgment वै. भू. सार. Possibly this MS was copied during the

* The Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, parts 3-4 pp. 210-216.

life time of Kondabhatta If a MS of the abridgment is dated A. D. 1650, the original work *viz* the वैयाकरणभूषण must have been composed by its author many years prior to A D 1650.

K. P. Trivedi in his edition of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* etc., describes a MS of the वैयाकरणभूषणसार on p. 13 of his critical notice of MSS (from Dehla's Bhandar, Ahmedabad), which is dated "*Samvat* 1729" = A. D 1663. This date is in harmony with the date A. D. 1650 of another MS of this work described by Eggeling

Kondabhatta's न्यायपदार्थदीपिका or पदार्थदीपिका published in the *Benares Sanskrit Series* contains the following references by Kondabhaṭṭa to his other works *viz.* (1) वैयाकरणभूषण and तर्करत्न, as pointed out by K. P. Trivedi on p. 19 of his introduction

P. 32 " वैयाकरणमत तु भूषणे अस्माभि प्रपञ्चितम् "

(see also folios 44, 46, of MS No 774 of 1887–91 at B. O. R. Institute).

P. 51 " निरूपितमस्माभिस्तर्करत्ने "

In view of the data recorded above we can safely conclude that Kondabhaṭṭa composed the following works before A. D 1650 —

(1) वैयाकरणभूषण

(2) वैयाकरणभूषणसार MSS of A. D 1650, 1660

Kondabhaṭṭa's पदार्थदीपिका was written later than his वैयाकरणभूषण and तर्करत्न, since these two works are mentioned in it. Kondabhaṭṭa mentions the following authors and works in his *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa* (appendix II to B. S. S. edition, pp. 730–731) —

अद्वैतसारोद्धार, अनुव्याख्यान, अप्पयदीक्षित, अमर, आख्यातवादशिरोमणि, आचार्य, उदयनाचार्य, ऋषभ, कर्कटी, कलाप, कल्पतरु, कल्पतरुकार, काव्यप्रकाश, काव्यप्रकाशकार, कुसुमाञ्जलि, कैयट, खण्डनकार, गार्ग्य, गीता, गुरु, गौतम, जयतीर्थ, जैमिनि, तत्त्वविवेक, दुर्गसिंह, धातुवृत्ति, नयविवेकटीका, नयविवेकवरदराजीय, निरुक्त, निरुक्तकार, नृसिंहाश्रम, न्यायतात्पर्यटीका, न्यायरक्षामणि, न्यायसुधा, पञ्चशिखाचार्य, पतञ्जलि, पतञ्जलियोग, पराशर, परिमल, पाणिनि, पार्थसारथिमिश्र, प्रभाकर, ब्रह्मोत्तरखण्ड, भट्ट, भट्टोजि, भर्तृहरि, भागवत, भामती, भाष्यकार, भीमसेन, मण्डनमिश्र, मध्व, मनोरमा, महाभारत, माधवाचार्य, माध्व, मिश्र, मुकुट, रङ्गोजि, रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य, लीलावत्युपाय, वरदराज, वसिष्ठ, वाक्यपदीय, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, विवरण, विवरणटिप्पणी, विवरणाचार्य, वेदान्तभूषणकृत्, व्यास, शङ्कराचार्य, शबर, शब्दकौस्तुभ, शाकटायन, शास्त्रदीपिका, श्रीधरस्वामिन्, संक्षेपशारीरकृत्, सिद्धान्तकौमुदी, सिद्धान्तलेश, सुधा, स्कन्दपुराण, हरदत्त, हरि, हेलाराज

Among the above references, the following are important —

(1) अप्पयदीक्षित, the *guru* of भट्टोजिदीक्षित

(2) नृसिंहाश्रम, the *guru* of भट्टोजिदीक्षित

(3) भट्टोजि, the uncle (पितृव्य) of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa

(4) मनोरमा, शब्दकौस्तुभ and सिद्धान्तकौमुदी are works of भट्टोजि on Grammar.

(5) रङ्गोजि, the father of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa.

Hall on p. 79 of his *Bibliography* (Calcutta, 1859) describes a fragment of Kondabhaṭṭa's तर्कप्रदीप as follows :—

"This work was compiled at the instance of Rājā Vīrabhadra, son of Rājā Bhadrendra. Vīrabhadra is eulogized by the author for having given an impulse to the revival of the practice of sacrifice " "This work cites न्यायलीलावती and अद्वैतचिन्तामणि." The date of तर्कप्रदीप can be determined if we can identify the patron king Vīrabhadra, son of king Bhadrendra Very probably this Vīrabhadra is identical with King Vīrabhadra, son of Bhadrapa Nāyak, about whom the following information is recorded in the *Madhyayugīna Caritra Kośa* by Chitrav Shastri, on p. 747 :—

" Vīrabhadra (A D 1629-1645), King of Bednur, son of Bhadrapa Naiyak ... . He was originally king of Ikkeri. When Shahāji and Ranadullākhān conquered Ikkeri [1] in A. D. 1637, he began to reside at Bednur. He died without issue." (see शिवभारतप्रस्तावना, pp 105-106)

If the above identification is accepted the date of तर्कप्रदीप could be fixed during the reign of वीरभद्र *viz*, A. D. 1629-1645. King Vīrabhadra, the patron of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, belonged to the line of Keḷadi Chiefs, whose capital was at Ikkeri first and at Bednur later. Koṇḍabhaṭṭa's father Raṅgojibhaṭṭa had some contact with the Keḷadi court as will be seen from the following stanza at the end of the वैयाकरणभूषण (p. 259 of B. S. S. edition).

" विद्याधीशवदान्यसज्जयति श्रीमाध्वभट्टारक
जित्वा केलदिवेङ्कटप्पनृपसदस्यमरिघेऽप्यान्दोलिका प्राप्तवान् ।
पक्षे मुनित्रयसूत्रविवृतिं सिद्धान्तभङ्गं तथा
व्याख्याता तमहं गुरुनुपगुरुं रङ्गोजिभट्टं भजे ॥"

Koṇḍabhaṭṭa clearly tells us in the first two lines of the above stanza how

1. About Ikkeri see p. [illegible] of Vol. V of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, [illegible]. Ikkeri is a village in the Shimoga District of Mysore State. From A.D. [illegible] to 1640 it was the capital of Keladi Chiefs. The cradle of this dynasty was at Keladi in Shimoga District. Finally the dynasty fixed its capital at Bednur or Nagar. Bednur was captured by Haidar Ali in 1763 and the territory of the Keladi Chiefs was annexed to Mysore.

his father Rangojibhaṭṭa conquered in debate a Mādhva ascetic called *Vaḍeru* at the court of King Keḷadi Veṅkaṭayya.

Kavīndra Paramānanda's *S'ivabhārata* (ed. by S M Divekar, B. I. S Mandal, Poona, 1927), composed ' between A D 1661 and 1674,' contains the follwing references to Vīrabhadra, King of Bednur –

" ततो विन्दुपुराधीश वीरभद्र महौजसम् । "

(वशीकृत्य प्रतापेन etc.)

(Chap. IX verse 37)

King Shahāji conquered Vīrabhadra and pleased Ranadullākhān -

" रणदूलहखानेन खलेनोपहृतं वलात् ।

भद्रासनं स्वमभ्यास्त वीरभद्रोऽस्य सश्रयात् ॥ "

(Chap XI, 6)

Vīrabhadra was helped by King Shahāji to re ascend the throne from which he had been removed by Raṇadullākhān .–

" पदे पदे शुभवता भवता किंकरीकृतः ।

व्यस्मरद्वीरभद्रोऽपि छत्रचामरसपद ॥ "

(Chap. XVII, 7)

The verse refers to the conquest of Vīrabhadra's kingdom by Ali Shah of Bijapur.

The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle in his *Travels* (A. D. 1623-1624) describes in detail his visit to Ikkeri, where Veṅkaṭa_pa Naik was ruling In his account of the 21st November 1623 on p. 284 (ed. by Hakluyt Society, London, 1892) Pietro della Valle refers to " *Virabadra Naieka, a young boy, his son's son, whom he* (Venkaṭappa Naik) *designs for his successor.* " I believe this " Vira-badra Naieka " is identical with Vīrabhadra Nāyak of Bednur (Bindupura), mentioned in the *S'ivabhārata,* whom I have identified with Vīrabhadra, the patron of Kondabhaṭṭa.

The dates for Vīrabhadra recorded in the *Madhyayugīna Caritra Kośa* are A. D. 1629-1645 If these dates are correct we have to presume that Veṅkatappa Nāyak or Keladi Veṅkaṭayya who ruled at Ikkeri in A. D. 1623-1624 may have continued his rule upto A. D 1629. Very probably Rangojibhaṭṭa defeated in a debate the Mādhva ascetic ' Vaderu '[1] at the court of this Venkaṭappa Nāyak of Ikkeri sometime prior to A. D. 1629.

1 Possibly *this* Mādhva ascetic named ' Vaderu ' *belonged to the* Vaisnava *Maṭh of the* Sārasvata Brahmins at Partagali in the Cancon division of Goa Nārāyana Tīrtha was the founder of this Math He was honoured with the title ' Vadera ' by Siddanna Nāyaka of the Keḷadi family The date of admission of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha into the Mādhva fold is the 8th March 1475 (see article by G H. Khare on the *Archives of the Partagali Maṭh* in the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission,* 1951, pp 50–55)

In the genealogical tree of the Nāyakas of Keḷadi, given on p. 269 of the *Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume* (1936) by N. Lakshmi Narayan Rao, we find the dates of Veṅkaṭappa I, Bhadrappa and Vīrabhadra Nāyak represented as follows :–

VENKATAPPA NĀYAKA I (A. D. 1592-1629)

|

son

BHADRAPPA

|

son

VĪRABHADRAPPA NĀYAKA

(A. D. 1629–1645)

Raṅgoji Bhaṭṭa's contact with the court of Keḷadi Venkaṭappa I must have taken place sometime between A. D. 1595 and 1629, while Koṇḍabhaṭṭa's contact with Vīrabhadra must have taken place between A. D. 1629 and 1645.

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26. The Relative Chronology of some Works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa Between c A. D. 1670 and 1750 *

Dr. P. V Kane[1] has given us a good account of Nāgojibhaṭṭa of Banaras and his literary activity of an encyclopaedic character. According to him Nāgoji "flourished towards the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century." "His literary activity must be placed between 1700 and 1750 A. D.". This chronology is fairly correct, but it needs to be corroborated by a study of the extant works of Nāgoji and their relative chronological order For want of leisure I cannot undertake such a laborious study, but as a first step in this direction I record below the results of my study of some works of Nāgoji from the chronological point of view. It is hoped that these results will clarify at least to some extent the relative chronology of these works and also substantiate the views of Dr. Kane about the chronology for Nāgoji's life and literary career referred to above.

Before recording the results of my present study I note below the names of the works of Nāgoji so far known.—

(I) Aufrecht records the following works of Nāgoji (*Cata. Catalo.* Part I, pp. 283–284) —

(1) अलंकारसुधा कुवलयानंदटीका
(2) अष्टाध्यायीपाठ
(3) आचारेन्दुशेखर
(4) आशौचनिर्णय
(5) कृष्टिकालनिर्णय
(6) कात्यायनीतन्त्र
(7) काव्यप्रदीप–उद्योत
(8) रसगंगाधरटीका गुरुमर्मप्रकाशिका
(9) चंडीटीका or देवीमाहात्म्यटीका
(10) चंडीस्तोत्रप्रयोगविधि
(11) तर्कभाषाटीका युक्तिमुक्तावली
(12) तात्पर्यदीपिका gr. (on what ?)

* *Oriental Thought,* Vol. I pp 45-52.

1. Vide pp. 453–456 of *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. I, Poona, 1930.

(13) विदन्तसंग्रह
(14) तिर्थेन्दुशेखर
(15) तीर्थेन्दुशेखर
(16) त्रिस्थलीसेतु (?)
(17) धातुपाठवृत्ति
(18) नेरणिवादार्थ
(19) पदार्थदीपिका ny.
(20) परिभाषेन्दुशेखर
(21) पतंजलसूत्रवृत्ति yoga
(22) पातंजलसूत्रवृत्तिभाष्यच्छायाव्याख्या
(23) प्रभाकरचन्द्र तत्वदीपिकाटीका gr.
(24) प्रयोगसरणि tantra
(25) प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर
(26) प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखरसारसंग्रह
(27) महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत
(28) रसतरंगिणीटीका
(29) रसमंजरीप्रकाश
(30) रामायणटीका
(31) लक्षणरत्नमालिका dh.
(32) विषमपदी शब्दकौस्तुभटीका
(33) वेदसूक्तभाष्य
(34) वैयाकरणकारिका
(35) वैयाकरणभूषण (?)
(36) वैयाकरणसिद्धांतमंजूषा
(37) व्याससूत्रेन्दुशेखर
(38) शब्दरत्न (?)
(39) शब्दार्णवसागरसमुच्चय
(40) सुप्तिङन्तसागरसमुच्चय
(41) शब्देन्दुशेखर
(42) संस्काररत्नमाला
(43) लघुभाष्यसूत्रवृत्ति
(44) सापिण्ड्यमंजरी
(45) सापिण्ड्यदीपिका
(46) स्फोटवाद
(47) नागोजीभट्टीय

Dr. G. V. Devasthali's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bombay University MSS* (Books I and II) records the following works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa —

MS No. 40 — महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत

MS No. 62 — लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर

MS No. 63 — *Do* —

MS No. 64 — *Do* —

In this work Nāgoji refers to his "बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखर"— ("विस्तरस्तु बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखरे द्रष्टव्य").

MS No. 71 — परमलघुमंजूषा — MS is dated *Saṃvat 1902 = A. D. 1846.* This is the shortest of the three editions of Nāgoji's treatise on the philosophy of grammar viz. वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमजूषा.

MS No 89 — परिभाषेन्दुशेखर

MS No. 982 — आशौचनिर्णय — MS dated *Śaka 1728 = A. D 1806.* Works and authors mentioned in this manual are – आकर, कालादर्श, जटमल्लविलास, निर्णयसिन्धु (*A. D. 1612*), पराशर, पारिजात, प्रयोगपारिजात, ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, मदनरत्न, मनु, माधव, मिताक्षरा, वाराहीतन्त्र, विज्ञानेश्वर, विष्णु, स्मृत्यर्थसार.

MS No. 983 — Do — MS dated "Saṃvat 1644."

MS No. 984 — Do — MS dated *Śaka* 1734 = *A D 1812* The date of *MS No. 983* recorded by Dr. Devasthali is "*Saṃvat 1644.*" If this is correct it can be interpreted as follows.—

(1) If the date 1644 belongs to *Vikrama Saṃvat* it is equal to *A. D.* 1588. This date for a MS of Nāgoji's work is impossible as Nāgoji lived definitely after c. A D. 1640.

(2) If the date 1644 belongs to *Śaka* era it is equal to *A. D. 1722.* This date for the MS is possible as it does not conflict with the chronology for Nāgoji's works fixed by scholars.

MS No 1198 — सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप — MS dated *Śaka 1725 = A.D. 1803.*

Authorities referred to in this work are — अनन्तदेव, आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र, गोविन्दार्णव, गौतम, चतुर्विंशतिमत नंदपंडित, पैठीनसि, बृहस्पति, बौधायन, ब्रह्मपुराण, मदनपारिजात, मनु (or मनुस्मृति), मात्स्य, माधव (and माधवानुयायिन), मार्कंडेयपुराण, मीमांसावार्तिक, याज्ञवल्क्य, वसिष्ठ, वासुदेव (भट्ट वासुदेव), विज्ञानेश्वर, व्यास, शंकरभट्ट, शङ्ख, शाकटायन, संग्रहोक्ति, सत्याषाढ, सुमन्तु, स्मृतिपादस्थवार्तिक, हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि

Among the above references the following three are important for the chronology of Nāgojibhaṭṭa and his works –

(1) शंकरभट्ट — Between A. D. 1540 and 1600. He was the nephew of कमलाकरभट्ट author of निर्णयसिंधु (A D. 1612) and composed द्वैतनिर्णय and

other works on dharmaśāstra (See p. 747 of Vol. I of *Hist.* of *Dharma.* by P. V Kane[1]).

(2) अनन्तदेव— the author of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ and other works. He flourished "*between 1645 and 1675 A. D.*" (See p. 452 of *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I by P. V. Kane).

(3) नंदपंडित— the celebrated writer on dharmaśāstra. He flourished "*between 1595 and 1630 A. D.*" (See p. 432 of Hist. of Dharma. Vol. I by P. V. Kane).

MS No. 1358 — देवीमाहात्म्य व्याख्यान. MS dated *Śaka 1762 = A. D.* 1840.

MS No. 1359 — Do —

The Descriptive Catalogue of MSS (Vol. VI – Vyākaraṇa MSS) in the Asiatic Society of Bengal records the following MSS of Nāgojībhaṭṭa's works –

MS No. 4222— महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत

MS No 4223 — *Do*–*MS* dated Saṃvat 1794 = *A. D.* 1738.

MS No. 4268— सिद्धान्तमंजूषा *MS* dated Saṃvat 1828 = *A. D. 1772.*

MS No. 4284— लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर— (See also other MSS of this work, Nos. 4285 to 4290).

MS No. 4331 -- लघुवैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमंजूषा -- (Other MSS Nos. 4332, 4333, 4431).

MS No. 4431 is dated Śaka 1745 = A D. 1823.

MS No. 4343 परिभाषेन्दुशेखर

MS No. 4344 — Do — MS dated Saṃvat 1911 = A. D. 1855.

MS No. 4345 — परिभाषेन्दुशेखरकाशिका by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe (MS dated Saṃvat 1916 = A.D 1860)

Nāgojībhaṭṭa wrote a commentary called उद्योत on the काव्यप्रदीप of Govinda. The B. O. R. Institute has a MS of this commentary, No. 119 of 1902-07. References to works and authors found in this MS are .–

रामायण, दीपिका, उद्दालङ्कारकृत्, परमानन्दचक्रवर्ति, नाटकीमाधवकाः, चण्डिदास, मण्डनमिश्राः.

Nāgoji refers in this work to his वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमंजूषा as follows —

Folio 7 — " इति वैयाकरणमतं मञ्जूषायां प्रतिपादितमस्माभिः "

Folio 14 — " इति स्पष्टं मत्कृतवैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषिकायाम् "

Folio 15 — " पातञ्जलमत वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषायामस्माभिरुपपादितम् "

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1. There is another शंकरभट्ट, (son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट, son of शंकरभट्ट,) author of धर्मविवेक and other works. He flourished between 16[illegible] and 16[illegible] A. D. (See p. 747 of Hist. of Dh. Vol. I).

It is clear from these three references that Nāgojibhaṭṭa's उद्योत on the काव्यप्रदीप of Govinda was composed after the composition of his वैय्याकरणसिद्धान्तमजूषा.

There is a MS of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's *Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta-Mañjūṣā* (No. 1295) in the library of Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, copied in *Śaka* 1630 = A. D. 1708. My friend Śrī S. L. Katre, the Curator of the Institute has kindly supplied to me the following extract from the colophon of this MS :—

"वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमंजूषा या कृता मया ।
तया श्रीभगवान्साम्वः शिवो मे प्रीयतामिति ॥

श्री शाके १६३० चैत्र सुदि १४ बुधे शुभम् कूर्माचलदेशे अलमोडा श्री ज्ञानिचन्द्राज्यस्थाने वीरेश्वरपण्डितगृहनिकटे लिखितमिदं दशाग्रं (-scored ?) रत्नाकरत्रिपाठिना ॥ शुभम् ॥"

One Ratnākara Tripāṭhī copied this MS at Almoḍā (Almora) in the Kūrmācala (Kumaon) territory at a place near the house of Vīreśvara Paṇḍita on *Budhavāra, 14th* day of the *bright fortnight* of the month of *Caitra* of *Śaka 1630*. This date corresponds to *Wednesday, 24th March 1708* according to *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI by Pillai, page 218. The date of this work must, therefore, be *earlier than A. D 1708*.

The B O. R. Institute has a MS of the वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमंजूषा (No. 33 of 1907–1915) dated *Śaka 1699 = 1777* A. D. I have gone through this MS cursorily. Works and authors mentioned in this treatise are —

न्यायभाष्यकृता, कैयट, चरके पतंजलि , नैयायिका., पातजलभाष्य, पाणिनि, हरिणा, हेलाराजः, हेलाराजीये, कणादिसूत्र, भारतं, हरिवंश, जैमिनिसूत्र, श्रीहर्षकृतखंडने, आश्वलायन, आश्वलायनश्रौतकारिका, बौधायनसूत्र, शांखायन, पुंजराज , गौतमः, न्यायवार्तिककार, भारद्वाजः, साख्यसूत्रे, वाचस्पतिमिश्रा परमार्थसारे शेषनागेन, भागवते, कौर्मे, बौद्धमत, सनत्सुजातीयभाष्ये भगवत्पादै., व्याससूत्रे, ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, नैयायिकनव्योक्त, निरुक्तभाष्ये, काव्यप्रकाशे, पातंजलसूत्र, भट्टकारिकायां, चरके, गौतमीये, समर्थसूत्रभाष्ये, निरुक्ते, खडनकृता, वृद्धाः, अलकारिकैः, तान्त्रिका , नव्यमीसासका , गुरुमतं (fol. 73), भट्टे , मिताक्षरा, याज्ञवल्क्य, शबरस्वामी, अर्वाचीननैयायिकमीमासकाना, पराशरोपपुराणात् वात्स्यायन , देवलः, रुद्रदत्तविद्यारण्याभ्याम्, गीतावचन, मनुना, पचशिखाचार्यैं , मार्कंडेयपुराण, पराशरस्मृतिव्याख्याया माधवाचार्यं , मणिकृता, "इति भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योतादौ विस्तरः" (folio 140), हरिस्वामि, भट्टपादै , वेदभाष्य, गौतमस्मृते , वायू (पुराण), देवीपुराण, सूतसहिता, राणककृत्, दीधितिकार , हरिदीक्षित (the guru of Nāgojibhaṭṭa in फणिभाष्य), रामराम (guru of N. in न्यायतत्र), श्रृंगवेरपुराधीश राम (the patron of N.) – Colophon on fol. 221 - "इतिश्रीमदुपाध्यायोपनामक सतीगर्भजशिवभट्टसुत नागेशकृतो वैयाकरणसिद्धांतमजूषाख्यः स्फोटवाद. ॥"

In the above list of references, the reference by Nāgojibhaṭṭa to his own "भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत" on folio 140 of the MS is important. This work is

no other than the महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत of this author. It is, therefore, clear that Nāgojibhaṭṭa's महाभाष्यप्रदीप - उद्योत was composed earlier than his वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा of which a MS dated *A. D. 1708* is available in the library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.

I gratefully record below references in Nāgojibhaṭṭa's works to his other works supplied by my friend Prof. K. V. Abhyankar —

(1) In लघुमञ्जूषा (Benares Edition) Nāgoji mentions his शब्देन्दुशेखर.-

Page 1033— " एतच्च निरूपितं कर्तृकर्मणोरिति सूत्रे शब्देन्दुशेखरे "

Page 1088— " इति अन्यत्र प्रपंचितम् " (according to Vaidyanātha Pāyagunde, the pupil of Nāgoji अन्यत्र=शब्देन्दुशेखरे).

(2) In महाभाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत (Benares Edition) Nāgoji mentions मंजूषा on the following pages· —

Page 8— " निरूपितं चैतत् मंजूषायाम् " (see also pp. 14, 54, and the following sūtras.- 1, 2, 58, I, 3, 72, I, 4, 54).

(3) In लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर (Benares Edition) Nāgoji mentions his (महा) भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत on the following pages.—

Page 437- "एतच्च भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योते निरूपित" (see also pages 527 and 572).

From the gloss of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe on the लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर we find that there are many *indirect* references in this work to Nāgoji's other works indicated by अन्यत्र as found on the following pages of the Benares Edition -

[1] अन्यत्र = मंजूषा (pages 136, 140, 137, 144

[2] अन्यत्र = उद्योत, and शब्दरत्न of हरिदीक्षित (pp 212, 268)

[3] अन्यत्र = उद्योत, (pp. 54, 141, 262)

[4] अन्यत्र = शब्दरत्न (pp. 180, 203, 270)

[5] अन्यत्र = गुरुशेखर, उद्योत (p. 62)

(4) In his commentary on the *Rasagaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja Nāgoji mentions his मञ्जूषा (see p. 360 of Nirnaya Sagara Press Edition of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*).

(5) In परिभाषेन्दुशेखर (ed. by Kielhorn, B. S. Series) Nāgoji mentions his other works as follows. -

(i) शब्देन्दुशेखर (pp. 21, 31 64, 104, 114)

(ii) भाष्यप्रदीपोद्योत (pp. 43, 72)

(iii) मंजूषा (pp. 79, 109)

From the commentary of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe on the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* we get the following indirect references to his works made by Nāgoji—

(1) अन्यत्र = उद्योत (pp 7, 22, 29, 31, 38, 56, 70, 74, 84 89, 96, 97, 98, 103, 104, 105, 111, 112, 115)

(2) अन्यत्र = मजूषा (p. 8)

(3) अन्यत्र = शब्देन्दुशेखर (pp. 37, 107).

(4) अन्यत्र = शेखर (pp 61, 75, 78, 90, 96, 99, 110).

From the data recorded so far we can tentatively draw the following conclusions —

(1) In his आशौचनिर्णय Nāgoji (=N) mentions निर्णयसिंधु (A. D 1612). In his सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप N mentions शंकरभट्ट (between A. D 1540 and 1600), अनंतदेव (between A D. 1645-1675) and नदपडित (between A D. 1595 and 1630). N is, therefore, later than c A D. 1670.

(2) The Ujjain MS of N's वैय्याकरणसिद्धांतमजूषा is dated A. D. 1708.

(3) The A. S. B. (Calcutta) MS No 4223, of N's voluminous work महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत is dated A. D. 1738

(4) In the वै सि. मजूषा N mentions his महाभाष्यप्रदीपउद्योत, which in its turn mentions वै सि. मजूषा This cross-reference proves that both these works were being composed simultaneously some time earlier than A. D. 1708, which is the date of the Ujjain MS of वै सि मजूषा.

(5) These voluminous works viz the वै सि मजूषा and महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत are the products of N's mature intellect and scholarship Presuming that N was about 30 years old at the time of their composition sometime before A. D 1708, the date of a copy of one of these works, we may easily infer that N was born say between A. D 1670 and 1680. This inference is in harmony with his reference to Anantadeva (A D 1645-1675).

(6) Very probably N composed his वै. सि. मंजूषा and महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत between c A. D 1700 and 1708.

(7) N composed his commentary on the रसमंजरी of Bhānudatta called the रसमजरीप्रकाश sometime *before A. D. 1712*, which is the date of a MS of this work in the India Office Library (See p. 355 of *India Office Catalogue*, Vol. III) as pointed out by S. K. De in *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I (1923).

(8) N composed his commentary on the *Rasagaṅgādhara* after his composition of the वै. सि. मंजूषा as he mentions वै. सि. मजूषा in this commentary. Very probably this commentary was composed by N sometime *after* A. D. 1700.

(9) N composed his काव्यप्रदीप-उद्योत, which mentions वै. सि. मंजूषा, also after A. D. 1700.

(10) N composed his आशौचनिर्णय sometime before A. D. 1722, which is possibly the date of a MS of this work (No. 933) in the Bombay University collection of MSS.

(11) N composed his लघुमञ्जूषा sometime after his वै. सि. मंजूषा (between A. D. 1700 and 1708).

(12) N composed his लघुमंजूषा after his शब्देन्दुशेखर (=बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखर) as he refers to शब्देन्दुशेखर in the लघुमंजूषा।

(13) N composed his लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर after his बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखर.

(14) N mentions महाभाष्यप्रदीप-उद्योत (Between A. D. 1700 and 1708) in his लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर Evidently the लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर is *later* than A. D. 1700.

(15) N composed his परिभाषेन्दुशेखर after his वै सि मंजूषा and महाभाष्य-प्रदीप-उद्योत (both composed between c. A. D. 1700 and 1708) and also after बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखर as these works are mentioned by him in the परिभाषेन्दुशेखर.

(16) N composed his लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर some time *before* A. D. 1721 as we have the following dated MSS of this work in the library of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.—

Accession No. 846– लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर, MS dated Saṃvat 1777 (=A. D. 1721). (see pp. 714-715 of Alphabetical List, Vol. I, 1942).

Accession No. 11703— लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर with comm. 'चिदस्थिमाला' by Nāgoji's pupil वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्डे—MS dated Saṃvat 1780 (=A. D. 1724) (see pp. 716–717 of Alphabetical List, Vol. I, 1942).

Evidently N composed his बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखर earlier than c A. D. 1715 as the लघुशब्देन्दुशेखर is an abridgment of the बृहच्छब्देन्दुशेखर. As the लघुशब्देन्दु-शेखर mentions वै. सि. मजूषा (between A. D. 1700 and 1708) it is later than c A. D 1700 and earlier than A.D 1721, the date of the Baroda MS of this work.

(17) N composed his काव्यप्रदीप-उद्योत before A. D. 1751, the date of MS No. 1293 of this work in the Desai collection of MSS of the Bombay University (see p 236 of H. D Velinkar's *Cata.* 1953) As this work mentions वै. सि. मंजूषा (between A D 1700 and 1708) it was composed *before A. D 1751 but later than c. A. D. 1700.*

(18) N composed his सप्तशतक with commentary before A. D. 1733, the date of MS No. 1402 of this work in the Desai collection of the Bombay University (see. p. 258 of Velankar's *Cata. 1953.*)

(19) Besides the Ujjain MS of वै सि. मंजूषा dated *A. D. 1705* there is another MS of it dated A. D. 1737 in the Desai Collection of the Bombay University (No. 1625—see p. 299 of *Velankar's* Catalogue, *1953*).

27. Date of Vāsudeva's Commentary on the Karpūramañjarī of Rājaśekhara (Between A. D. 1450 and 1700)*

The following commentaries on Rājaśekhara's Karpūramañjarī have been recorded by Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum —

CC I, p. 82 — (1) by Kāmarāja (Premarāja)
(2) by Kṛṣṇasūnu
(3) by Dharmadāsa
(4) Ratnamañjarī by Pītāmbara
(5) *Karpūramañjarīprakāśa by Vāsudeva* K 70; Peters. 3. 393.
(6) *Karpūramañjarīchāyā*

CC II, p. 15 — *Karpūramañjarīprakāśā by Vāsudeva* L. 3288, Peters 4.25, Stein 77 (inc)

I am concerned in this paper with Vāsudeva's commentary which is available in a published form [1] Its editor has not determined the date of the commentator Vāsudeva. I propose in this paper to put some limits to his date.

Vāsudeva was the son of Prabhākara and Gomatī as stated in the following stanza at the beginning of his commentary —

" तात प्रभाकर नत्वा मातर गोमतीमपि । कर्पूरमन्जरीटीका वासुदेवेन तन्यते ॥ "

In all the colophons found in the commentary the name of the author, the name of his father and the name of the commentary viz. कर्पूरमंजरीप्रकाश are recorded as follows —

" इति श्री ... प्रभाकरभट्टात्मजवासुदेवविरचिते कर्पूरमञ्जरीप्रकाशे "

According to Aufrecht (CC I, p. 567) वासुदेव composed a work on मीमांसा called the पयोग्रह-समर्थन-प्रकार dealing with the substitution of milk for intoxicating spirits in the वाजपेय ceremony (See Hall's *Bibliography*, p 292). This work cites त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, सौत्रामणि and the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर (c. A. D 1070–1100). The MS " Peters 4·25 " mentioned by Aufrecht is identical with MS No 662 of 1886–92 (कर्पूरमञ्जरी with प्रकाश by वासुदेव) in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O R Institute, Poona Another MS of Vāsudeva's प्रकाश mentioned by Aufrecht is " Peters 3·393 " which is

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* *Oriental Thought, Vol. I, No 1, pp. 59-62.*

1 Published by Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1949, edited by N R. Acharya.

identical with MS No *278 of 1884 86* in the Govt. MSS Library. Both these MSS bear no dates. They appear to be at least 150 years old. The MS "K. 70" of प्रकाश recorded by Kielhorn in his *List of C. P. MSS*, Nagpur, 1874, p. 70, is mentioned by Kielhorn to be about 125 years old. If this statement is correct the MS appears to have been copied about A. D. 1750 which is, therefore, the later limit to the date of Vāsudeva. The earlier limit to the date of Vāsudeva may now be fixed on the basis of references in the commentary. Works and authors mentioned by Vāsudeva in his कर्पूरमञ्जरीप्रकाश (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1949) are as follows :—

(1) सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण — p. 1, 2, 10, 18
(2) दण्डिना — p. 2, 10, 14 15, 16, 17, 22 28, 30
(3) काव्यप्रकाश — p. 2, 4, 10, 11, 14, 36, 38, 42, etc.
(4) भरते — p. 2, 6, 7, 8, 35
(5) वामनेन — p 2
(6) रसकलिकायाम् — p. 5, 34, 37
(7) नाट्यप्रदीपे — p. 6
(8) दशरूपके — p 6, 13, 35, 63
(9) भावप्रकाशे — p. 6, 8
(10) सगीतसर्वस्वे — p. 6
(11) मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः — p. 7
(12) नाट्यलोचने — p. 7
(13) सुधाकरे — p 10, 34
(14) प्राकृतसंजीविन्याम् — p 10
(15) शृंगारतिलके — p 13, 14, 46
(16) सगीतरत्नाकरे — p. 35,
(17) साहित्यदर्पणे — p 44, 46
(18) मम्मटेन — p. 44
(19) विश्व. — p. 45–A. D. 1111
(20) वृद्ध. – p. 52
(21) कालिदासेन – p. 59
(22) काव्यादर्शे दण्डिना – p. 66, 69, 81
(23) त्रिकाण्डी – p. 70

The dates of some of the works and authors mentioned by Vāsudeva are as follows —

No. 17 — साहित्यदर्पण — Between *A. D 1300 and 1350* (See p. 236 of *Sanskrit Poetics Vol I*, 1923, by S K. De). Between A D. 1300 and 1380 (See p 421 of P. V. Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*, 1951).

No. 9 — भावप्रकाश — This is obviously the भावप्रकाश by Śāradātanaya— *between A. D. 1100 and 1300* (See p. 242 of S. K. De's *Poetics*, Vol. I). *between 1175 and 1250 A. D.* (See p 405 of P. V. Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*).

No. 7 — नाट्यप्रदीप — A work of this name was composed by सुंदरमिश्र औजागरि in *A D. 1613* (See p 402 of P. V. Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*).

No. 13 — सुधाकर — Very probably this work is identical with the रसार्णवसुधाकर of शिङ्गभूपाल- A. D 1340-1360 according to A. N. Krishna Aiyangar (See p. 411 of P. V. Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*)

No. 16 — संगीतरत्नाकर — Śārṅgdeva, the author of this work on music, was patronised by the Yādava king Singhna (A D 1210–1247). (See p 419 of P V Kane's *Sanskrit Poetics*, 1951)

As वासुदेव mentions and quotes from the साहित्यदर्पण (c A. D. 1300–1380) we may fix about A D 1450 as the earlier terminus to the date of his commentary on the कर्पूरमञ्जरी If the work नाट्यप्रदीप quoted by him is identical with the नाट्यप्रदीप composed in A. D. 1613 by Sundaramiśra Aujāgari this earlier limit can be pushed up to about A. D. 1650, the later limit being about A D 1750 fixed by me already on the strength of the age of a MS of Vāsudeva's Prakāśa recorded by Kielhorn

Vāsudeva records the following vernacular equivalents in his commentary —

Page 18 — " महाराष्ट्रभाषायाम् ' निप्पट ' इति प्रसिद्धम् "

Page 27 — " टप्परो वंशपात्रम् । ' टोपला ' इति भाषायाम् । "

Perhaps Vāsudeva hailed from Mahārāstra and knew the Marathi language.

In the light of evidence recorded above we can arrive at the following conclusions regarding Vāsudeva's date —

(1) The date of Vāsudeva definitely lies between A. D 1450 and 1750.

(2) If the the work Nātyapradīpa mentioned by Vāsudeva is identical with the Nātyapradīpa composed by Sundaramiśra in A. D. 1613, the date of Vāsudeva can be fixed between A. D. 1650 and 1750.

28. Some Purāṇic Extracts quoted by Aparārka (c. A. D. 1125) and their bearing on the History of Indian Paleography and Education *

In my paper[1] on the *History of Ink-manufacture in India*, I have recorded some recipes which appear to be later than A. D. 1200. The earliest among these recipes is that from a work on alchemy called the *Rasaratnākara* of Nityanātha Siddha assigned by scholars to about the 13th century Since this paper was published I happened to read some portions of the commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* by Aparārka, who is assigned by M. M. Prof P. V. Kane to A. D. 1125

In the *dānaprakaraṇa* of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (chapter I, prakaraṇa 8,) Yājñavalkya extols ग्रन्थदान or विद्यादान in verse 212. In commenting upon this verse Aparārka quotes several authorities[2] such as यम, बृहस्पति, भविष्योत्तर, मत्स्यपुराण, नन्दिपुराण, etc The long extracts from the three Purāṇas pertaining to विद्यादान are important as they contain some literary and paleographical material. These extracts deal with the following topics —

(1) भविष्योत्तर :— Worship of पुस्तक (manuscript), description of मषी (ink), मषिभाजन (ink-pot), formula of ink, qualifications of a लेखक (writer of MSS), instructions regarding the writing of Mss, depositing MSS in a मठ or monastery, the merit acquired by donating Mss of Purāṇas, Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, endowment for the maintenance of a preceptor (उपाध्यायवृत्तिदान); endowment for providing food, raiment etc. to students and making provision for students pursuing a study of technical sciences and arts (शस्त्रशास्त्रकलाशिल्प), endowment for the constant reading of religious manuscripts in the temples of gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya.

(2) मत्स्यपुराण :— Donating of the MSS of the following *Purāṇas* according to specific *vidhis* :— (a) ग्रंथ 10000, ब्रह्मपुराण, (b) ग्रंथ 55000, पद्मपुराण, (c) ग्रंथ 23000, विष्णुपुराण, (d) ग्रंथ 24000, वायुपुराण,

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* *Poona Orientalist* Vol. XIII, Nos. 3 and 4 pp. 9-14.

1 Vide *Prācyavāṇī*, Vol. III (1946), pp. 1-1[illegible]

2 Vide pp. 3[illegible]-403 of Vol. I of *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1[illegible])

(e) ग्रंथ 18000, भागवतपुराण, (f) ग्रथ 25000, नारदपुराण, (g) ग्रंथ 9000, मार्कण्डेय, (h) ग्रथ 16000 आग्नेयपुराण, (i) ग्रथ 14500, भविष्यत्पुराण, (j) ग्रंथ 18000, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, (k) ग्रथ 11000, लिङ्गपुराण, (l) ग्रंथ 24000, वाराहपुराण, (m) ग्रथ 81100, स्कन्दपुराण, (n) ग्रथ 10000, वामनपुराण, (o) ग्रथ 17000, कूर्मपुराण (p) ग्रथ 13000, मत्स्यपुराण, (q) ग्रथ 18000, गरुडपुराण, (r) ग्रथ 12200, ब्रह्माण्डपुराण.[3]

(3) नन्दिपुराण -- Importance of शास्त्रदान, 14 Vidyās *Vedas, Vedāṅgas, dharmaśāstra, purāṇa, mīmāṃsā, tarka, āyurveda, Sāmaveda, Ātmavidyā, kalāvidyā, śilpavidyā, sasyavidyā*[4] etc. दान of श्लोक, प्रहेलिका, गाथा सुभाषित etc. may be regarded as विद्यादान— worship of a qualified *guru*–पुस्तकदान to be carried out in a शिव-मंदिर–worship of वाचकs and श्रावकs — qualifications of a वाचक .—

> " वाचको ब्राह्मणः प्राज्ञ श्रुतशास्त्रो महात्मना ।।
> अभ्यस्ताक्षरविन्यस्तो वृत्तशास्त्रविशारदः ।।
> शब्दार्थविदप्रगल्भश्च विनीतो मेधयान्वित. ।।
> गीतज्ञो वाक्यविच्छ्राव्यस्वरोऽनाविलभाषक । "

— Qualifications of a गुरु —

> " अध्यायसर्गविच्छेदविभक्तार्थप्रयोजक ।
> सस्कारै संस्कृतां विद्यां प्राकृतै प्राकृतामपि ।।
> आलापमात्रैर्व्याख्यानैर्यश्च शिष्यान्प्रबोधयेत् ।
> देशाभिधानविन्यासैर्बोधयेच्चापि यो गुरुः ।।
> स गुरुः स पिता माता स तु चिन्तामणिः स्मृतः । "

The वाचक should read out Mss in the following manner —

> " शनैर्विबोध्य वै वाच्यमध्यात्मादि च यद्भवेत् ।।
> क्रुद्धोक्ति युद्धसक्षोभ धारावर्तेन वाचयेत् ।।
> सरागललितैर्वाक्यैर्वाचयेद्वृद्धसंगमे ।

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3 The extent of each *Purāna* in *granthas* indicated here as part of Aparārka's commentary would be an important testimony bearing on the extent of each of the 18 *Purāṇas* about A. D 1100, provided these *grantha* figures are found in the earliest dated Mss of Aparārka's commentary and corroborated by other reliable evidence.

4 सस्यविद्या means possibly the science of agriculture.. It is also called सस्यवेद in the following lines of the नन्दिपुराणः --

> " सस्यवेदप्रदानेन सपन्ना यस्य शालय ।
> किं नाम न कृत तत्र पुण्य भवति शाश्वतम् ।। " (p. 397)

Evidently there were some treatises on सस्यविद्या, which are now lost. The only treatise we know at present is कृषिपराशर

नानावृत्तानुरूपेण लालित्येन च वाचयेत् ॥
सर्गाध्यायसमाप्तौ च कथापर्यन्त एव वा ।
प्रशस्तपदप्रयोगैः कुर्यादिति विरामणम् ॥
समाप्ते वाचनेऽभीष्टं स्तूयेद्वै विचक्षणः । "

The effect of listening to the शास्त्र is described as following :—

" समग्रशास्त्रश्रवणेन पुंसां श्रद्धाप्रधानं भवतीह चेतः
रागं च शास्त्रात्मकमभ्युपैति दोषाश्च नाशं निखिलेन यान्ति ॥ "

The merit of persenting manuscripts on different शास्त्र to learned Brahmins is very great. Equally great is the merit of presenting *writing materials* like पत्र (leaves), मषीपात्र (ink-pot), लेखनी (pen) and सपुट (box for keeping writing materials) etc —

" येऽपि पत्रमषीपात्रलेखनीसपुटादिकम् ।
दद्युः शास्त्राभियुक्ताय तेऽपि विद्याप्रदायिन ॥
यान्ति लोकान्शुभान्मर्त्याः पुण्यश्लोका महाधियः ॥
इति विद्याप्रदानस्य महाभाग्य प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ "

The foregoing brief analysis of the Purāṇic extracts quoted by Aparārka gives us a good idea of the importance attached to विद्यादान and its beneficial effects on the educational activities of ancient times prior to A. D. 1100. In the mechanism of education, so graphically described in these extracts every part had its own importance as the following series of these parts will show —

लेखक पुस्तक — वाचक — गुरु — श्रावक

The idea of acquiring merit (puṇya) by विद्यादान prompted the rich and pious public of the day to contribute its mite for keeping this mechanism well oiled and in smooth working order.

The remarks in the Purāṇic extracts about लेखक (scribe) with his writing accessories have a paleographic interest, while those about वाचक (reader), गुरु (preceptor) and श्रावक (disciple) possess an educational interest.

The following lines in the extracts from the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* refer to a *formula for ink* which appears to have been current before A. D. 1100.—

" सौवर्णी लेखनी कार्या रौप्यं च मषिभाजनम् ।
दीपज्वालासमुद्भूतकज्जलेन मषी भवेत् ॥
औदुम्बरामृतापाणिपृष्ठवोलरसान्विता । "

The pen should be made of gold, the ink-pot should be made of silver. The ink should be prepared form lamp black mixed up with औदुम्बर

(juice of aloes or gum myrrh) and pounded with hand in a tray or vessel (अमत्र) of *Audumbara* wood i. e wood of the *udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*), which is one of the seven holy trees in India I cannot say what special purpose was served by the *udumbara* wood and its contact with the mixture of कज्जल and बोल. In some of the formulas of ink recorded by me the use of cooper vessels for mixing up the ink-ingredients is prescribed, though in these formulae कज्जल and बोल remain as main ingredients In the above formulae from the *Bhaviṣyottara purāṇa* we have the simplest process of making ink, which appears to have been in use more than a thousand year ago in India in writing manuscripts on palm leaves, as *paper* had not then made its appearance in India The writing outfit then consisted of a box with ink, ink-stand and pens, as also blank leaves (पत्रमषीपात्रलेखनीसपुटादिकम्) as expressly stated in the *Nandipurāṇa* extract quoted by Aparārka This out fit was presented to the learned men of the day (दद्युः शास्त्राभियुक्ताय) with a view to acqiring merit (पुण्य) Even today we present to friends sets of writing materials like fountain pens, ink stands etc but it is doubtful whether these accessories have stimulated or facilitated any literary effort in them They remain on the tables of our friends only for display, at times with a dry ink pot and a broken holder or nib or a leaking fountain pen.

As regards the *lamp black* used for ink-manufacture in India from ancient times, I have to state that some product from soot or lamp black was exported to Greece and Rome for the manufacture of black colour used by painters in these countries as stated by Dr. Albert Neuberger.[5]

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5 Vide pp 194–195 of *Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* (Eng Translation by H L. Brose, Methuen and Co (1930)—Speaking of Inorganic Dyes and Painter's Colours Dr Neuberger observes —

" For making *black, soot* was the chief source It was produced as nowadays in special works Pitch, resin, chips from the pine, beeswax, dried remains of the grape and other substances, were burned in chambers, whose walls were as smooth as possible and in many cases made of polished marble. The *soot* which deposited itself was scratched off Further *bone black* was also in use, it is supposed to have been discovered by the most celebrated painter in Greece namely, Apelles (about 325 B. C) who produced it by charring ivory *Bone black* was extraordinarily dear and was only seldom employed. On the other hand wood–tar was sometimes used, as well as a *black derived from India, which is probably identical with our Indian ink, and so likewise represented a product from soot*

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Note. "Asterisk (*)" refers to the particular page number and the foot-note thereon, while "n" to the foot-note on that page

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SUBJECT-INDEX

(By N. A. Gore)

[Note a., author. Com. Commentary]